I.

text

ARCHAEOLOGY AND VISUALITY, IMAGING AS RECORDING:

A PICTORIAL GENEALOGY OF ROCK PAINTING RESEARCH IN THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG THROUGH TWO CASE STUDIES

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A thesis in two volumes submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Art History)

Johannesburg, 2012

The visual image that the ekphrasis seeks to translate into words is of course lost in the translation, as gradually the verbal representation, no longer leaning on another, extra-textual, tangible representation, takes on the power of a freestanding entity.

- Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis: the illusion of the natural sign* (1992: 16).

I long for the handmade, the direct application of materials on an uneven, rough, textured surface. I feel ever more the need for the embedded and encrusted images and glossings and tones and contours of forgotten and misplaced lore …

- Charles Bernstein, 'I don't take voicemail. The object of art in the age of electronic technology', *My way. Speeches and poems* (1999: 72).

abstract

Pictorial copies play an essential role in the creation of rock art knowledge, forming a bridge between the art and theories of interpretation. My thesis traces a 'pictoriography', that is, a historiography of the practice of recording rock paintings in pictures.

I begin with the earliest examples dotting the shifting edges of the Cape Colony from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Thereafter, the focus shifts to the Maloti-Drakensberg, where two case studies bring this disciplinary history into more recent times.

The first is the rainmaking group from Sehonghong Shelter (Lesotho). One of the first rock paintings to be published, it became one of the most iconic in southern Africa. I relate its various copies to one another and to wider views of Sehonghong, revealing how it has been decontextualized and reproduced in diagrammatic form. I develop a 'digital restoration', whereby copies circulating independently in the world are returned in digital images to their place of origin.

I develop this process further in a site-wide study of eBusingatha Shelter (AmaZizi Traditional Authority Area, KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg). Once an impressive painted gallery, eBusingatha has been severely damaged by vandalism, removals and collapse, while documents tracking its demise accumulated elsewhere. I reunite scattered records, enabling copies to be contextualized and lost visual qualities of the originals to be restored.

Throughout these pictorial genealogies, I explore the distance between the way the rock paintings are illustrated and the way they actually look. While recording strategies are diverse, one dominant convention has emerged in recent decades. Meticulous tracings converted into monochrome redrawings effect a translation of complex and ambiguous painted occurrences into clean forms 'peeled' from the rock and projected like shadows onto paper. The convention serves a figural iconographic research focus, turning the paintings into visual products that are more like text than picture. Colour for instance is considered an integral part of painting traditions worldwide, yet is expunged from the study of San rock paintings. A reintegration of such pictorial attributes into their study may encourage a return to the material world of the imagery and a contextualization of the semantics of its symbolic constituents.

KEYWORDS

San, Bushmen, rock paintings, historical copies, photographs, digital imaging, restoration, remediation, Sehonghong Shelter, eBusingatha Shelter, Cinyati, Maloti-Drakensberg.

declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Art History) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

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Justine Wintjes

8th day of June 2012.

acknowledgements

Thanks go first and foremost to my courageous and prescient supervisor, Anitra Nettleton. Without her guidance and confidence, I would not have been able to release this work into the world.

Many other people helped along the way:

Richard Kuba and Peter Steigerwald of the Frobenius Institute facilitated access to the Frobenius archives.

Ben Smith, Catherine Namono and Sam Challis of the Rock Art Research Institute, and Azizo da Fonseca and David Duns of the Southern African Rock Art Digital Archive (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg) dealt with countless queries.

The staff of the Archaeology Department of the KwaZulu-Natal Museum allowed me access to their materials and to occupy their workrooms for many weeks.

The staff of many other institutions, including the Brenthurst Library (Johannesburg), Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (Pietermaritzburg), Iziko South African Museum (Cape Town), Museum Africa (Johannesburg), National Archives of South Africa (Pretoria), National Library of South Africa (Cape Town), Old Court House Museum (Durban), South African Heritage Resources Agency (Cape Town), Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), British Museum, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford) provided me with access to their documents and images.

Many people talked or corresponded with me on aspects of my research, including Stephen Gill, Jeremy Hollmann, Petro Keene, Peter Mitchell, Immie Mostert, Mauritz Naudé, David Pearce, Henk and Marion Swellengrebel, and Len van Schalkwyk. I am particularly grateful for the long exchanges with Janette Deacon, Jeff Guy, Adrian Koopman, Revil Mason, Aron Mazel, Lucas Smits and Anne van Riet Lowe-Fradan.

My research was possible only because of the hard work of numerous earlier researchers and image-makers that I name during the course of the thesis, and many of the people and institutions already mentioned allowed me to use unpublished pictures for my research. I extend thanks equally to Nick Chevalier, Kevin Crause, Jeff Guy, Aron Mazel and Bronwen van Doornum for their pictures.

Members of the Mdlankomo Cultural and Rock Art Monitoring Group of the Busingatha Valley, AmaZizi Traditional Authority Area, guided me through their landscape, and particular thanks go to Petros Ngwane, Muzi Msimanga and Bawinile Mtolo.

Tom Huffman allowed me access to the archives of the Wits Archaeology Department, and offered me a writing refuge in the dark days and months before submission as well as countless cups of coffee and plates of food.

Jeff Guy was my unofficial mentor, without whose support, encouragement and vision I would never have thought it possible to embark on this project.

Robin Guy made me begin to see pictures I could not see before.

Tristan Lang and Gisele Sudheim helped me transcribe the Frobenius manuscripts.

Gavin Whitelaw has been a tremendous source of constructive criticism, support and constancy.

My parents and sister, although far away, have helped, supported and inspired me in innumerable ways.

This research was funded by the Mellon Postgraduate Mentoring Programme, a National Research Foundation free-standing doctoral scholarship, a University of the Witwatersrand merit award and a National Arts Council bursary.

Carl Grossman of the African Conservation Trust and University of KwaZulu-Natal recently organized the purchase of the 'super computer' necessary to develop and extend the eBusingatha project into the realm of digital 3D, and this officially marks the beginning of a post-doctoral project. I am amazed at how quickly it feels my doctorate has come to an end but I hope to continue to pull the many threads I have drawn out of rock, paper and pixel archives into the future, and to continue to reanimate broken pictures and places.

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acronyms

ACT: African Conservation Trust (Pietermaritzburg).

ADRC: Archaeological Data Recording Centre (Cape Town).

ADW: Archaeology Department, University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg).

AFEBAT: Association française pour l'étude des Bushmen artistes Txam (France).

ARAL: Analysis of Rock Art in Lesotho project archive.

ASAPA: Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists

ASW: Archaeological Survey (Wits) archive, South African National Archives (Pretoria).

BL: Brenthurst Library (Johannesburg).

BM: British Museum (London).

CMAA: Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

DIAFE: Deutsche Inner Afrika Forschungs Expedition (German research expedition into Africa led by Leo Frobenius).

EKZNW: Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, Head Office Registry, Queen Elizabeth Park (Pietermaritzburg).

FBA: Felsbildarchiv, Frobenius Institute (Frankfurt).

FIF: Frobenius Institute (Frankfurt).

FoA: Fotoarchiv, Frobenius Institute (Frankfurt).

ISAM: Iziko South African Museum (Cape Town).

KZNC: KwaZulu Nature Conservation.

KZNM: KwaZulu-Natal Museum (Pietermaritzburg).

MA: Museum Africa (Johannesburg).

MM: Mariannhill Mission (near Pinetown, outside Durban).

NASA: National Archives of South Africa (Pretoria).

NLSA: National Library of South Africa (Cape Town).

NMB: Nasionale Museum (Bloemfontein).

NSN: National Site Number.

OCHM: Old Court House Museum (Durban).

PV: Patricia Vinnicombe archive (RARI or KZNM).

RAMP: Rock Art Mapping Project, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

RARI: Rock Art Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.

RMA: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam).

RNNP: Royal Natal National Park.

SAHRA: South African Heritage Resource Agency (Cape Town).

SARADA: Southern African Rock Art Digital Archive www.sarada.co.za

SFA: Swellengrebel family archive (Sint Maarten, Netherlands).

SSN: SARADA site number.

UDP: uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (World Heritage Site).

UKZN: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

UoW: University of the Witwatersrand.

WCL: William Cullen Library (University of the Witwatersrand).

VRL: Van Riet Lowe archive (RARI, ADW and KZNM).

WB: Walter Battiss archive (RARI).

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A visual question

ARCHAEOLOGY AND VISUALITY

Archaeology is one of the most visual disciplines in the humanities and sciences. Various forms of illustration and visual representation play an essential role in the production and communication of archaeological knowledge. While the idea of the social construction of all knowledge, including visual culture, is not new, numerous visual aspects of archaeology still warrant examination as part of a historically specific form of interpretation bounded by ideology and technology.

Art historian Sam Smiles and archaeologist Stephanie Moser, authors of *Envisioning the past: archaeology and the image* (2005a), see a moment in the mid-1960s when art history and archaeology "could have combined forces to examine the interplay between art, antiquarianism, and archaeology, considering the extensive contribution the image has made to picturing (and thus shaping knowledge about) the past"; at that time, the archaeologist (and archaeological illustrator) Stuart Piggott, and art historian Ernst Gombrich, both concerned themselves to "examine the graphic codes through which aspects of the visible world are represented" (Smiles and Moser 2005b: 3). Smiles and Moser note however that this line of enquiry was not sustained, only maturing as a research field in the 1990s (e.g. Lagardère 1990; Moser 1996, 1998; Molyneaux 1997a; Smiles & Moser 2005a). But even in the field's current, more developed form, the "studies that do exist are scattered across a variety of topics" and a wide gulf still remains between art-historical and archaeological approaches to the problem of visual presentation in archaeology (Smiles and Moser 2005b: 3). These disparate studies do however already demonstrate that far from being a small corner of specialized interest, the field of enquiry into archaeological images is replete with possibilities for future research. The recent Visualisation in Archaeology (ViA) project (2008–11) of the University of Southampton comprised several workshops and a conference, and the website includes a research showcase of numerous projects presented in these fora.[1]

The existing literature that critically examines the histories of archaeology's images has for the most part emerged out of the United Kingdom. Africa does not feature prominently in this field of enquiry, but several works deal with representations of Ancient Egypt (Molyneaux 1997c, Moser 2006) and issues around the visualization of human antiquity with implications for representing African origins (Privateer 2005, Scott 2005, Moser 1996, Moser 1998), albeit both in a European context of research and display. In 2001, South African Nessa Leibhammer completed a Master's thesis at the University of the Witwatersrand in which she examined archaeologists' use of images as an essential part of their production of knowledge, but she selected her place of research outside of South Africa: the well-known Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in Turkey. One of the earliest known urban settlements in the world, its large-scale archaeological investigations (conducted under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara), comprise an

[1] http://www.viarch.org.za/ (website last visited 6 June 2012).

emphasis on visual documentation and visualization. Çatalhöyük's project director Ian Hodder has over the last twenty years attempted to put 'postprocessual' archaeology into practice, which is one that strives to construct the past "through a methodology that is historical and hermeneutic while remaining reflexively critical" (Leibhammer 2001: 4). It was this challenge that Leibhammer took up in relation to the history of pictographic reconstructions of the site, revealing that two key illustrations from the first, 1960s, phase of excavation were continuing to influence visualizations despite that they were outdated, and that workers had taken a conscious research decision to move away from certain early assumptions embodied in these pictures. In this example the visual image appears as a

> key element in the process of scientific thinking and discovery as such, not just a descriptive afterthought or afterimage, but as a constitutive element, a speculative, theoretical construction. The moment of scientific intuition is often a vivid insight, a daring projection of a visual or spatial model, and not merely a summing up of empirical data (Mitchell 1998: 53-54).

Thus the image participates actively in the formation of ideas, but more than this, the Leibhammer study suggests that it can be a pervasive and persistent, even sometimes unwanted, construction. (I develop this notion of an image as being able to travel between generations of research under the methodological concept of pictorial genealogy in later chapters.)

Within the vibrant and wide-ranging realm of southern African archaeology, this line of enquiry has to date largely been neglected. Over and above the European geographic bias outlined above, this seemingly highly specialized research niche of archaeological imagery covers a diverse array of visual forms spanning "the convention of the scientific specimen, such as a technical drawing of a flint implement, to the visual jargon of a Harris matrix or a section drawing, to full-blown reconstructions of life as-it-was in the past" (Moser and Gamble 1997: 185). Questions of visual historiographies are also disciplinarily uncomfortable, as they cut across well-established divisions between archaeology, art history, visual studies, semiotics and the history of science.

To begin to mould my research interest into a project of relevance to the South African context in which I found myself, in the early stages of my doctoral research I surveyed the various categories of images that have worked in the service of southern African archaeology. Publications of an archaeological nature began to appear during the 1800s. The relatively isolated early illustrations I have found include drawings of stone tools (Dale 1870; Dunn 1880) and rock paintings (Alexander 1837; Orpen 1874). The first publications to encompass illustrations of a wide range of archaeological materials appeared following the investigations of the monumental stone-walled settlement that became known later on as Great Zimbabwe (Bent 1892; Hall 1904, 1905; MacIver 1906, Caton-Thompson 1931). The Iron-Age ruins were "discovered" by European travellers who carried with them a "master narrative of Africa's "lost age," an intertwining of two thousand years of popular mythologies and explorers' speculations that [came] to rest in the midst of the "dark continent", including stories of Prester John and the Queen of Sheba (Hall 1996: 106). The "lost city" made imaginations run wild, inspiring a genre of romantic fiction, and leading to the creation of many pictures. Early archaeological illustrations of Great Zimbabwe included landscape sketches (e.g. Mauch's 1871 sketch republished in Burke 1969: 154, Bent 1892: 91), site plans (e.g. Bent 1892: 92, 105, 142), atmospheric, almost fictionalized, sketches of the settlement (e.g. Baines 1877: plates between 122/123 and vi/vii; Bent 1892: 107, 113), photographs and line drawings of the ruins themselves, often featuring human figures as scales (e.g. Bent 1892:

129, 144; Hall 1905: 286, 316), photographs and drawings of the materials retrieved from the excavations such as pottery fragments, soapstone carvings and iron objects (e.g. Bent 1892: 174; Hall 1905: 102, 131) as well as objects of contemporary material culture from the region which began to form an ethnographic context, such as pottery, headrests, other carved wooden objects and iron smelting furnaces (e.g. Bent 1892: 35, 36, 37, 39, 268).

The "various interpretations of African history require appreciation of the interaction between material things and the intellectual contexts in which they acquire meaning", and, without denying that our understanding of the deep African past has improved over the centuries, Martin Hall sees a "substratum" of myths of Africa that remain trenchant in the modern world (1996: 104). Myths come laden with visual baggage, and a closer scrutiny of the image histories of archaeology has potential to develop into an understanding of the ways in which various visual forms, bounded by technology and ideology, have served the discipline of archaeology over time, forming and perpetuating certain ideas about the past. Hall suggests that "artifacts and ruins stand as icons to southern Africa's long precolonial past" (ibid.); indeed there is a strong continuity between the nineteenth century illustrations surveyed above and those used by archaeologists today. It is a technical as well as theoretical and conceptual disciplinary history, as "proper scrutiny of these representations will lead us on to treat wider concerns, especially the ideological position of the image and its contribution to any given epistemic structure" (Smiles and Moser 2005b: 2). South African archaeology occupies a unique position: it covers one of the oldest and most anthropologically-informed archaeological records in the world. Situated at the cusp of the first and third worlds, it carries the heavy burden of a racist past but is today embedded within a society one of whose tenets is non-racialism. Clearly, the potential for visual histories of archaeology in this region is vast.

When the African Conservation Trust employed me to record rock painting sites in the Northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg in 2008, I began to focus on one specific category of archaeological image: rock paintings and their varied visual iterations. Several publications have opened up questions around the visuality of San rock paintings (e.g. Davis 1984, 1985; Nettleton 1985; Skotnes 1994, 2010; Le Quellec et al. 2009; Solomon 2011) while Nessa Leibhammer (2009) has raised questions around the role of secondary depictions in the production of knowledge about the primary parietal material. Inspired by threads of enquiry drawn out by these authors, I set out to trace a critical history of the various forms of visual representation used in the study of rock painting imagery. This has culminated in the completion of my doctoral thesis.

The Maloti-Drakensberg region, my research area, features widespread sandstone formations within which several distinct rock art practices with different cultural affiliations can be identified, but the vast majority of the rock paintings that have been recorded there fall under a grand naturalistic tradition associated with Bushman or San hunter-gatherers, also known as "fine-line" painting. Understandings of the seemingly unified, but in reality quite diverse, body of San rock paintings are being complicated by new lines of research, and even a cursory overview of the abundant literature is enough to conclude that no simultaneously concise and accurate definition can be provided for this rich and varied category. A perceived overarching uniformity in terms of naturalistic style, spiritual subject matter and hunter-gatherer lifestyle is nonetheless widely recognized. San rock paintings are seen as distinct from other traditions for their painterliness, figural elaboration and representationalism. In the Maloti-Drakensberg area, they dominate through their sheer numbers, detail and diversity.

My particular interest in the visual history of rock art research is the way in which the rock paintings have necessitated being translated into other kinds of pictures in order to be studied and for the findings of research to be communicated. My study focuses in the first instance on the work that these other kinds of pictures do, representing and at times replacing the original rock paintings. I develop a concept-based methodology of 'genealogy' to examine the relationship of original to copy, and of copy to copy, sometimes several times removed. Although a genealogy may appear at first glance to be a linear and chronological set of relationships that are established in terms of a single point of origin, a genealogical approach actually reveals the selectivity and contingency of any given trajectory of knowledge. In the Foucauldian sense, it is a method that can be likened to archaeology, because it reveals layers that lie perpendicular to, and disturb, unilinear and teleological accounts of history (e.g. Foucault 1969). It is also a genealogy of alternative ways of representing, and therefore alternative ways of understanding. It cannot be a search for ultimate "origins" or "truth" because the original rock paintings themselves are unstable, physically as well as epistemologically. But its guiding principle—its empirical base and its strength as a methodology—is to seek to closely examine the copies in relation to the original rock imagery. Genealogies as transects of visual media also form histories of image-making strategies and technology, where the dialogic interface between new kinds of visual recording in relation to old ones is instructive.

The varied copies that exist of these paintings can be sorted into different categories. Although certain of these arguably do fall under the category of "art", I am primarily concerned with the study of "images that are not art" (Elkins 1995). It is not only in archaeology that this field of study has grown dramatically over the last two decades, but the visual aspects of both scientific and popular iterations of related disciplines such as anthropology (Banks & Morphy 1999; Schneider & Wright 2006, 2010), geology and palaeontology (Rudwick 1992; Mitchell 1998), and scientific disciplines more generally (e.g. Baigrie 1996, Kemp 2006), are being opened up to enquiry. As James Elkins observes, most extant images are not "art" and he tentatively qualifies one of the major categories within "non-art" as "informational images". He underlines

> three points about the importance of such images: that they engage the central issues of art history such as periods, styles, meanings, the history of ideas, concepts of criticism, and changes in society; that they can present more complex questions of representation, convention, medium, production, interpretation, and reception than much of fine art; and finally, that far from being inexpressive, they are fully expressive, and capable of as great and nuanced a range of meaning as any work of fine art (1995: 553-4).

The ways in which the rock paintings themselves can be considered "art" or "non-art" is outside the scope of this study. I do not consider this question unimportant, but I cannot deal with it here as it is somewhat peripheral to my main trajectory. While I do refer to them as artworks, I nevertheless acknowledge that these paintings' 'artness' is necessarily unresolved, and possibly very different from traditional western ideas of what art is. Art or non-art, they are undoubtedly visual representations and as such, they have, throughout the history of their study, inspired a vast and diverse body of pictorial and pictographic copies. The definition of picture is equally complex. For the purposes of this work, I adopt Elkins's scheme whereby a picture is an indivisible visual phenomenon, tending to consist of a continuous field of simultaneously available information. In this regard, it is distinct from text, which comprises disjunct signs that can be removed from one

visual field and placed into another without an overt shift in meaning. Even according to these definitions, however, the boundaries between text and picture are by no means clear, and Elkins traces a complex gradient between the two of intermediate visual forms (Elkins 1999).[2]

Furthermore, for my purposes, visual recordings of rock art fall into the category of "informational images" because in the first instance they position themselves in relation to, and seek to capture and convey information about, the original parietal imagery. They may also have other levels of significance, such as aesthetic, historic or technical, but it is specifically the information that they contain about the original paintings that is most centrally relevant for my research. Fine artists such as Walter Battiss have also been inspired to incorporate elements of San painting into their art, but this phenomenon also falls outside the boundaries of my study; and during his long artistic career Battiss was also involved in producing pictures of rock art that were primarily "informational" such as tracings.

Copies of rock paintings present a particular kind of *mise en abîme* because they are images of images, or images within images. Because in many cases the original rock paintings still exist and because rock paintings are *already* images, they lend themselves well to genealogical histories. While numerous other kinds of archaeological subjects might also qualify as images (depending on how you define what an image is), figurative rock paintings and their copies are an obvious subject with which to begin to deconstruct the contribution images have made to archaeology and related disciplines.

THESIS STRUCTURE

My thesis is divided into two volumes. The first contains 'text' (including line figures and annexes) and the second contains 'picture' (colour and greyscale plates and catalogues of pictorial archives).

The text volume is divided into different sections. In 'Foundations', I lay out the historical base and limits of my study. I begin with an overview of histories of rock art recording in the Maloti-Drakensberg region, and a discussion of the current figural iconographic focus of mainstream rock art studies. In the second chapter I describe the earliest evidence of a European gaze directed at this African artistic tradition, comprising isolated early copies in the wider region from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth centuries as European explorers pushed out the boundaries of the Cape Colony and began to document the "interior", moving closer to the Maloti-Drakensberg without yet having breached this final mountain frontier. The third chapter examines the early copies in the immediate vicinity of the high Maloti-Drakensberg that appear in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this period we also see the first examples of attempts to record the paintings 'comprehensively' and of paintings that were copied more than once by different copyists. More detailed and specific information about painting sites began to accumulate in the documentary world. These chapters are essentially reviews of work compiled by others, although I do discuss several previously unconsidered documents.

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[2] Here I do not intend to bring these definitions of text or picture to bear on San concepts of pictures or images. Although the notion of emic interpretation is central to the wider study of rock art, it is beyond the scope of my study, which examines the positions of copyists, and not, in the first instance, the positions of the rock painters.

From the turn of the twentieth century copies of rock paintings began to proliferate. I turn from a more inclusive regional overview to a sequence of site-specific archival histories: small clusters of paintings with a certain historical depth of recording that are representative of the copies produced in the wider region. Each of the sites I have chosen has a history of recording that runs parallel to a history of physical damage by humans. The processes of documentation and destruction are, of course, somewhat paradoxically related: the sites have physically deteriorated while at the same time information about them has accumulated elsewhere. In a sense they have been 'refracted' or 'exploded' into an archive. I provide a detailed account of how the archive formed and how the documentation came to exist and circulate independently of the original painted imagery. I then consider the copies in the context of the originals. What does one observe when the copies are compared with the original rock paintings? How accurate are they? To what extent can they mediate or facilitate the study of the original? To what extent can they replace the original? What do they tell us about the position of the copyists? By considering the copies in the context of those visual representations on which they were modelled, I am in a sense reversing the process of refracting the sites and paintings into an archive. I am initiating a process of reconfiguring the archive according to the logic, layout and visuality of the original paintings.

The second section is my first archival study, which traces the genealogy of the rainmaking scene from Sehonghong, an iconic group of painted figures from the Lesotho highlands. In the fourth section of the thesis, I present my second and third case studies that emerge from the documentary history of eBusingatha, an entire rock shelter located in the northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg that has experienced drastic material changes in the last eighty years. Through each of these site-specific studies I introduce a methodology of 'digital restoration', explained in more detail in the third section. My study of images is not simply a passive analysis, but embodies ways to visualize the copies in context. At the end of each archival study I present an archival reorganization through a sequence of digitally assembled illustrations, and end with a final visual synthesis that sums up the findings. I do not, however, suggest that I am creating a picture of what the paintings looked like in the past, the creation of a definitive original 'perfect' version, though through digital restoration the originals are nonetheless to a certain extent repaired. In lieu of an unmoving and isolated image, a digital restoration offers a dynamic, multi-facetted view where different copies can be considered in the context of (what we know of) the original. The images are no longer entirely isolated from their original place in the world as rock art copies so often are. It becomes possible to consider the relationships between the various images and the kinds of selectivity that are perpetuated through the copies and those qualities that escape the copies' grasp.

Beyond the empirical, the nature and circulation of the copies also has epistemological implications concerned with understanding and attributing meaning to the original. How have the copies been used in formulating explanations of what the art means? Have their visual qualities determined or been determined by verbal interpretations? I attempt to reply to these challenging questions in the final section.

The theoretical framework is integrated into my writing, and is not explained in a separate section on theory. I define the key theoretical concepts as I introduce them, but I do not otherwise single them out for review in and of themselves.

1.1

A history of recording rock paintings in pictures

VISUALIZATION I:

(front cover Vol. II)

"Teekeningen door een Kaffer of een Hottentot vervaardigd"[1]

On the clear morning of Monday 14 October 1776, somewhere near the Camdebo foothills of the Sneeuw Bergen, Dutch traveller Hendrik Swellengrebel was visiting a farm belonging to David van der Merwe (Forbes 1965: 67) when he wrote in his diary:

> At that place there was one of those Bushmen-Hottentots that people call Chinese and say that where they come from they have painted the rocks with all kinds of animals. I let him paint with ink on a sheet of paper, but it was a good idea to place the name under each figure in order to know what it was supposed to mean.[2]

[1] "Drawings produced by a Kaffir or a Hottentot".

[2] Excerpt from Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr's 1776 travel journal (my translation). SFA.

VISUALIZATION II

(back cover Vol. II)

"San rock paintings – Langkloof Area – Southern Cape"

Heritage-imaging software engineer and photographer Kevin Crause has developed a proprietary digital imaging CPED method (Capture-Process-Enhance-Display)[3] comprising a "next-generation" digital and optical toolset designed for the recording of rock art sites:

> The CPED process [is] able to capture the detail of [the] rock art site in its context on the rock face and within the surrounding landscape ... The 'Art in Context' component (i.e. the 360° panorama) enables one to view the rock face as well as views over the landscape from inside the overhang. The UHR [Ultra-High Resolution] mosaic makes it possible to see the art at magnifications of up to 75% life-size. The analysis sheets use two processes—false-colour enhancement and pigment colour-range isolation—to show parts of the spectrum of light not visible to the naked, unassisted eye. [The] rock art site has thus been documented with unprecedented accuracy, precision and resolution. ...
>
> How can one say that one has 'seen' the rock art of a particular site until it has been documented using CPED ...? (Hollmann & Crause 2011: 71, 73)

[3] Crause's work is showcased at www.fingerprintsintime.com (website last viewed 6 June 2012).

These two samples of moments of visualization frame a history of recording rock paintings, from an early exploratory sketch created on the colonial frontier to the latest specialized developments of the digital age.

The first quote does not yet concern the production of direct copies, but is suggestive of a transition from one image-making tradition to another, a 'pictorial turn'. Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr (b.1734–d.1803) was the son of the Governor of the Cape Colony (1739–51) by the same name, and a "private gentleman of influence, means and education" who held no official post or function during his expeditions (Forbes 1965: 59), but nonetheless represented expanding European control emanating outward from the Cape of Good Hope. He journeyed beyond the eastern boundaries of the Cape Colony into landscapes whose remote corners were still largely unexplored by European colonists and still inhabited by what were perceived as wild and primitive peoples. Although hunter-gatherers had co-existed with Bantu-speaking agriculturists for centuries, in this period they were caught in a competition for land between indigenous farmers and white settlers. This early ink drawing is an expression of their tragic terminal phase. The creative practice of rock paintings was dying along with the lifeways of its practitioners, while at the same time and through the same processes it was on the verge of becoming the subject of copies created by outsiders from a Western artistic background. Rock paintings were on the cusp of entering into the literate world where they could later become the subject of academic enquiry while, somewhat ironically, the most informed producers and viewers of the art were being eliminated or assimilated into encroaching communities with different ways of life.

Sampled a mere 230 years later, the second visualization illustrates recent high-end digital techniques developed specifically for the documentation and visualization of rock art sites. Kevin Crause's work has not yet been absorbed into mainstream recording practices, but he has started a heritage-imaging initiative and is currently exploring collaborations with rock art researchers and institutions (Kevin Crause pers.comm. 2011). His work represents the potential for visualization of rock paintings in the digital era and so I have used it to fix the future-present limit of my study. The position he occupies is in a sense one of 'post-visuality' because his technique renders the paintings more visible in digital visualizations than they are to the naked eye, indeed arguably more visible than they ever were even to the rock painters or other 'insider' viewers of the art themselves.

Yet both moments of visualization are about attempts to capture in visual media the rock artworks produced by societies that are remote in space and time. Both represent the encounter of one kind of image-making technology with another of a fundamentally different kind.

IMAGE-RECORDING AS A DISCIPLINARY HISTORY

Rock artworks are image artefacts that have, throughout the history of their study, inspired a vast and diverse body of pictorial copies. To experience them first-hand in their original expression in the landscape can be a rare luxury or a fleeting experience, especially in remote localities. A range of different visual strategies has been deployed to create a record of mobile, reproducible pictures through which knowledge of the originals is perpetuated and their imagery studied off-site. "Fac-simile copies" as they were sometimes referred to in the time of the early copyists (e.g. Barrow 1801: 313; Jones 1870; Hutchinson 1883) constitute one of the oldest categories of illustration in southern African archaeology, appearing for the first time in the eighteenth century (Willcox 1963:

1). Copies make the study of rock paintings possible, and arguably "no specimen is useful unless it can be studied by all scholars" (Davis 1985: 5). If one takes a step back to gaze over this history of illustration, copies do not simply appear as innocent pictures. As a corpus or collection of visual documents, they are, argues Davis (1990: 286), the very "*sine qua non* of … knowledge of style and sequence". In other words, copies enable and support the elaboration of an entire field of enquiry.

Rock art traditions in southern Africa are more numerous and variable through time and space than mainstream rock art research might at first glance suggest. Enquiry into traditions other than San rock art and issues of identity and social dynamism, is increasingly addressing this diversity (e.g. Yates et al. 1994; Challis 2008; Eastwood 2003; Eastwood 2006; Smith & Van Schalkwyk 2002; Eastwood et al. 2010) but here I focus on the most studied and therefore most copied rock art tradition in the field of southern African rock art research: the figurative and highly colourful "fine line" paintings, generally attributed to Bushmen, also known as San, hunter-gatherers. No doubt because of its finesse and naturalism, which appealed to European aesthetic sensibilities (Nettleton 1984: 67), this kind of painting attracted more attention early on than less colourful, coarser, abstract or engraved forms, and it played a key role in the development of the discipline of southern African rock art studies. Likewise, my geographic focus is on the so-called "classic" area of research, centred on the Maloti-Drakensberg (Blundell et al. 2010b: 1-3). In short, because I am writing a disciplinary history, I chose this mountain region because it contains what is considered to be one of the continent's great concentrations of San rock art sites, is associated with substantial sources for archaeology and ethnography and has been investigated by a tradition of scholarship (Davis 1984: 8).

LOCATING THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG

The definition and boundaries of my research area deserve qualification because, as others have noted before, the name "Drakensberg" means different things to different people (Wright & Mazel 2007: IX). Also sometimes called the "southeastern mountains", the Drakensberg is a great escarpment extending from the Eastern Cape in South Africa along the international border between Lesotho and KwaZulu-Natal to terminate in the South African Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces, separating the high interior plateau from the low coastal lands. The most elevated terrain, forming a paddle-shaped zone, is a massif made up of the remnants of a basalt cap known as the Drakensberg Group (above an altitude of about 2000m) stretching across Lesotho and part of the Eastern Cape, forming a steep east-facing scarp on the KwaZulu-Natal side (**Map 1**). Viewed from the Lesotho side, these mountains are known as the Maloti in Sesotho. Both "Maloti" and "Drakensberg" mean "mountain", the latter being a compound of the Dutch/Afrikaans "draken" ("dragons") and "berg" ("mountain"). The Maloti-Drakensberg massif is the highest mountain formation in southern Africa (peaking at 3482m in Lesotho). Its rippled surface is visible in satellite photographs at a subcontinental scale (**Plate 1.1.1**).

It is a mountain formation that has been formed by erosion rather than geological upliftment, a residual crust of the palaeo-surface of an ancient land-mass veined by a multitude of rivers carving into it to reveal the sedimentary layers beneath. It is within the sandstone outcrops around the edges of these "mountains of denudation" (Churchill 1897: 424) that rock paintings most frequently occur. Experientially, at the scale of a person moving through this landscape, the valleys of successive horizontal sandstone bands have a soft and peaceful, yet disturbingly erosive quality. Other aspects of the Maloti-Drakensberg, especially the basalt escarpment, are monumental,

seeming more permanent and fortress-like (**Plate 1.1.2, 1.1.3**). In profile, the highest surface rises to the east, creating a sheer escarpment with the most dramatic peaks on this, the KwaZulu-Natal, side (**Fig. 1.1.1, 1.1.2**).

Clarence van Riet Lowe (1941, 1952) was the first to compile a regional distribution map of rock art sites, showing that their incidence corresponds closely with the geology (**Plate 1.1.4**). He observed that engravings and paintings follow a complementary distribution, with the former occurring mainly on loose rocks or exposed bedrock of the plains of the interior plateau (where there are few caves or rock shelters) and the latter in the hollowed-out features of the mountain formations that separate the interior from the coastal lands "like a vast crescent" (1952: 3). The rock painters had a distinct preference for shelters carved out of sandstone (Lewis-Williams 2003: 9).

Van Riet Lowe defined a "South-Eastern Group" comprising "paintings ... distributed over the Drakensberg mountain massif, its spurs (such as the Maluti mountains), and its foothills below the basalts in the eastern Free State, Basutoland, western Natal, the Transkei and the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope" (1952: 7, his emphasis). For him this group constituted what was possibly "the richest storehouse of prehistoric art in the world" (ibid.). Since his time the production of rock art knowledge has increased almost exponentially and many new sites have been recorded, yet his 1952 map for the Union of South Africa and Basutoland presents a distribution that remains largely consistent with what we know today. When viewed alongside a schematic map of lithostratigraphic units (**Fig. 1.1.2**), the highest concentration of painting sites can be seen to encircle the basalt cap of the Drakensberg Group. This corresponds with the Clarens formation, which contains a high density of natural rock shelters (it used to be called "Cave Sandstone"). Painted rock shelters occur in lower density in all directions around this ring, across both the interior plateau and coastal belt, punctuated by outcrops of lower sedimentary ranges known by different local names (e.g. Stormberg, Witteberg, Zuurberg, Sneeuwberg, Outeniquaberg).

It was through his fieldwork in this concentrated ring of sites within the Clarens formation that David Lewis-Williams is said to have "tease[d] out the semantic spectrum of key San symbols", establishing that "Drakensberg San rock art is essentially shamanistic in nature", with repercussions for rock art interpretations worldwide (Blundell et al. 2010b: 1-3). For its quantity, subject matter, visual qualities and variety of rock painting, some believe the Maloti-Drakensberg to be "unrivalled by any other rock art in the world" (Lewis-Williams 2003: 9). Because it is also extremely rich in visual recording, this is the area of my study.

A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF COPIES

The early history of rock art recording follows the eastward penetration by European travellers associated with the expanding frontier of the Cape Colony. In section 1.2, I examine the period of the first known copies and European reports across southern Africa, which appear from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. My consideration of copies from the wider region ends in the mid-nineteenth century because this is when the first copies were produced in the Maloti-Drakensberg, which section 1.3 considers.

In these sections, I discuss in some detail the context within which the copies were produced, because it can lead to a better understanding of the intentions behind the copies, and potentially

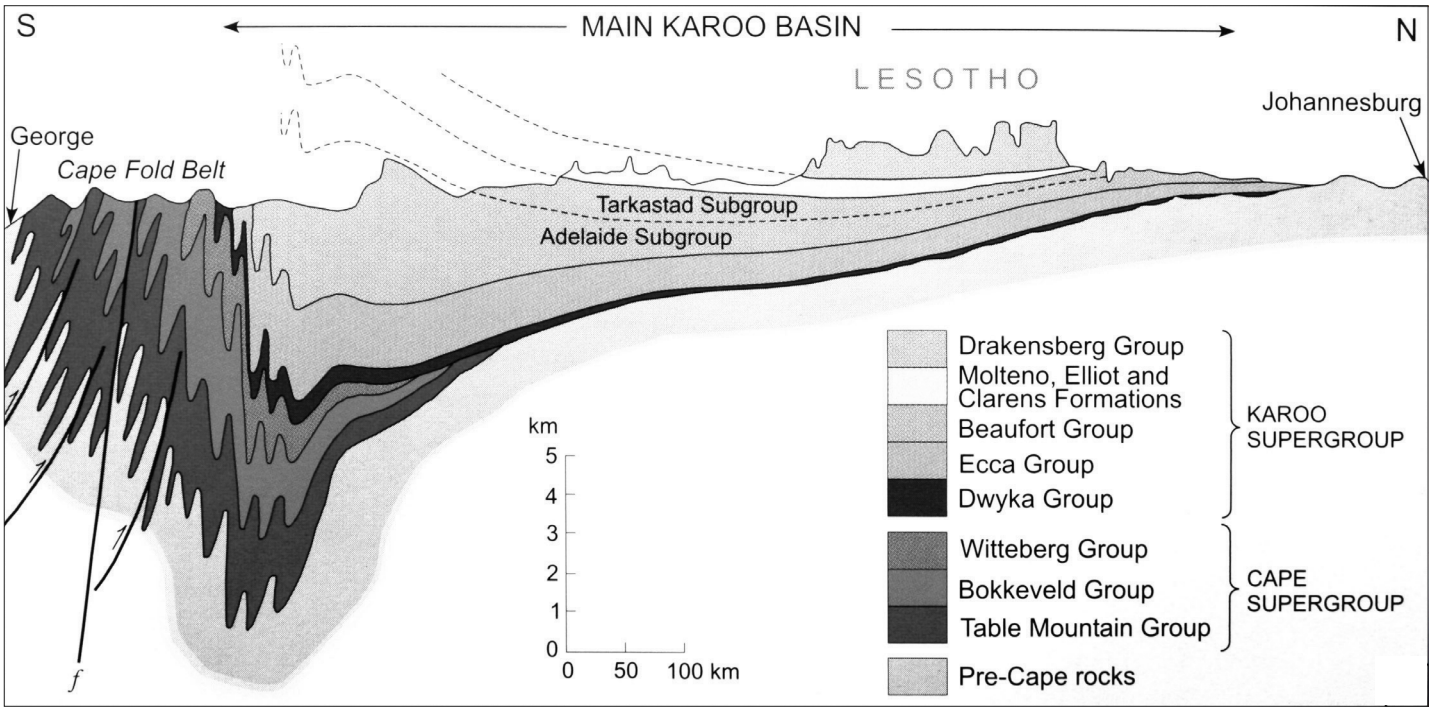

Fig. 1.1.1. GEOLOGY: SCHEMATIC SECTION OF LITHOSTRATIGRAPHIC UNITS
borrowed from Johnson et al. (2006: 463).

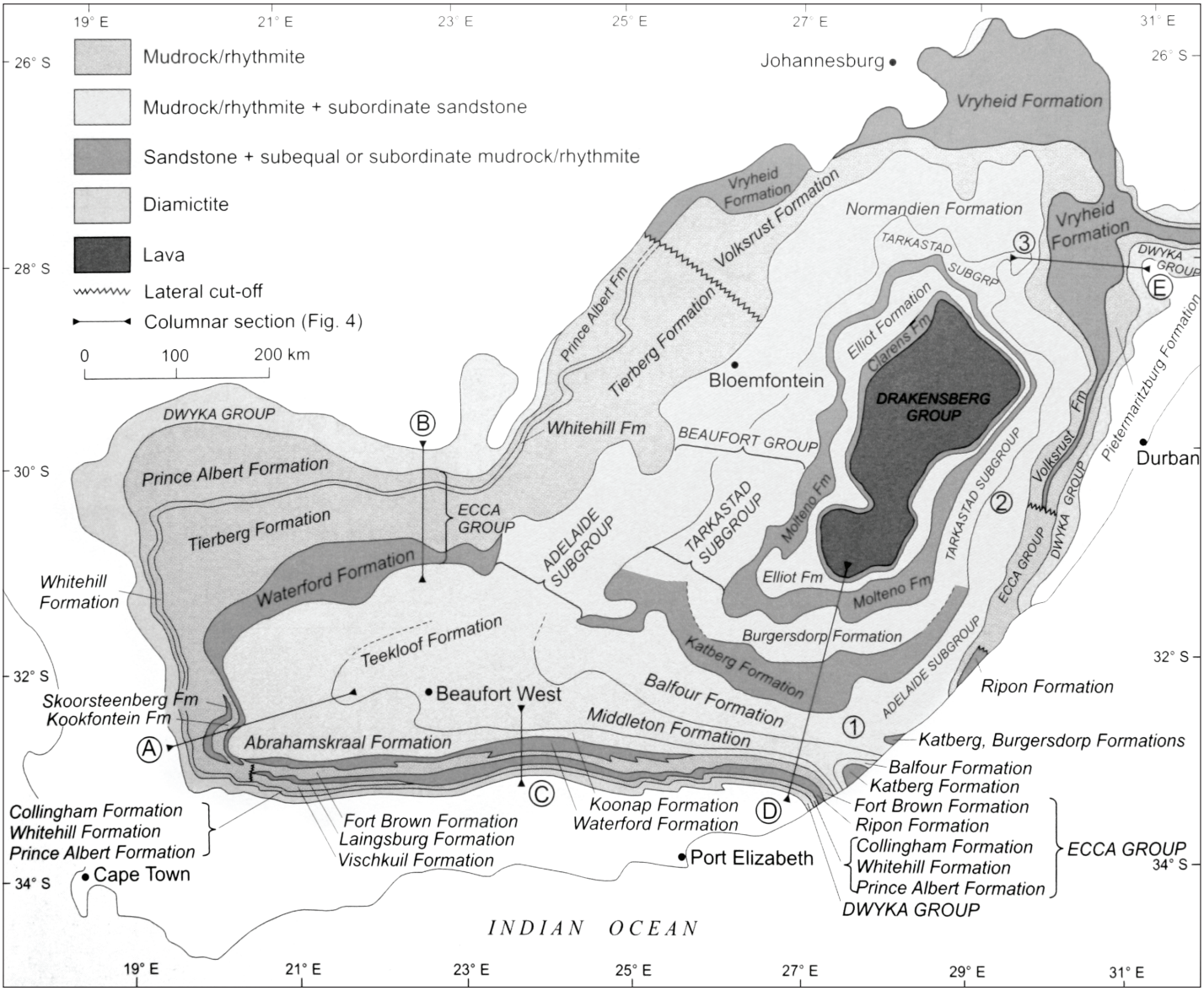

Fig. 1.1.2. GEOLOGY: SCHEMATIC MAP OF LITHOSTRATIGRAPHIC UNITS
borrowed from Johnson et al. (2006: 462).

point to further archival sources.[4] I also attempt wherever possible to identify the sites, because, while copies can to some extent be appreciated within themselves, a closer visual analysis is possible if one can relate them to the originals after which they were modelled.

Because of early copyists' ignorance of the cultural context within which the paintings were produced and the unsystematic copying techniques that they employed, older copies are generally considered less accurate, but if assessed according to present-day requirements to establish their limitations, they can nonetheless be useful for answering current research questions (Ward & Maggs 1994: 153). Thus researchers have previously thought about how historic copies mediate between the original rock paintings and the viewer of the copy, but their primary concern in this regard has been to establish whether the copies faithfully reflect the iconographic content of the originals, in which light they can be established as inaccurate, whimsical or fraudulent. The study of the varied interpretations of the "White Lady of the Brandberg" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 6–7; Lewis-Williams 1996a: 34-7; Leibhammer 2009: 47-9) and the question of George Stow's possible forgery of a group of blue ostriches (Dowson et al. 1994; Prins 2005; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2008; Skotnes 2008: 15, 18) figure among the best known southern African examples of this interest. For the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg, several studies assessing the accuracy of the work of individual copyists have been undertaken (Ward & Maggs 1994; Ward 1997; Flett & Letley 2007). Copies have also been examined as indicators of the state of preservation of the paintings at the time at which they were copied. This information is useful for the study of certain aspects of deterioration, revealing for example that historical-period paintings are less well preserved than older ones, with implications for the future study of paint recipes (e.g. Ward & Maggs 1994; Ward 1997). Histories of copies can lead to digital reconstructions (Guy & Wintjes 2009; Le Quellec et al. 2009) and copies have also been studied and appreciated as artworks, for their own aesthetic qualities and historic significance (e.g. Skotnes 2008, 2010).

Leibhammer (2009) presents a more critical approach to this history of recording through an analysis of the phenomenological difference between copies and originals. She begins with the observation that

> these copies are all rendered through graphic conventions determined by Western visual conventions. Original rock paintings made by the San and the copies that have been created by amateurs, scholars and artists working within Eurocentric aesthetic traditions are also products of different phenomenological paradigms (2009: 43).

She observes that these copies acquire "a life of their own" to become active participants in the production of rock art knowledge, but while rock art workers have demonstrated an awareness that

> [r]enderings have been many and various, and the methods of copying have been extensively documented, the visual and material differences embedded in these graphic recordings have generally not been explored as an important factor in the understanding of this art form (2009: 43).

Copies are most often used as unmediated representatives, standing in for the original artworks, invisibly representing and even replacing them. Interpretations are carried out via these

[4] I have been inspired by the level of archival detail in Patricia Vinnicombe's seminal work *People of the Eland* (1976). Her web of connections has not been exhausted and continues to encourage investigation.

copies rather than the originals and published interpretations are in turn usually illustrated by some form of copy. Although the range of graphic positions and conventions is highly variable from one copyist to another, Leibhammer proposes a simple chronological framework for this recording history. Early copyists tended to be personal, subjective and highly selective in their stylized copying, seeming to gaze at a distance while allowing preconceived ideas to influence, in some cases quite strongly, what they saw. They did not yet possess the "conceptual and sociological framework within which to comprehend" the paintings (ibid.: 45). More recent generations of better informed and specialized artists, for example Harald Pager (1971) and Patricia Vinnicombe (1976), captured whole panels while also paying close attention to minute detail through painstaking field techniques developed during long hours spent at sites. Leibhammer quotes Lewis-Williams in his admiration of this "sustained close attention to painting after painting [seeming] to inculcate in researchers a perspective on the art that differs from the one that those who stand back and view only the general sweep of the images tend to develop" (Lewis-Williams 2009: 18). By creating large-format painterly panoramic versions of entire panels, these artists pulled the appreciation and understanding of this art forward, but their copies did not entirely satisfy the needs of a subsequent, more academically oriented generation of rock art workers involved in what Leibhammer calls a more "controlled study of the works", excluding the "messy" elements such as "colour, paint texture and the inclusion of rock surface visual 'noise'" (Leibhammer 2009: 56).

THE MONOCHROME PRESENT

Recordings fall under four main categories: sketched, painted, diagrammatic and photographic. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but they reflect the changing availability of image-making technology. Early copyists worked manually because photography wasn't yet available, subsequent copyists copied in colour because only black and white photography existed, and, from about 1950, colour photography reduced the need for the labour-intensive production of hand-drawn colour copies. It is thus possible to discern a general trend from graphic experimentation and diversity in copying techniques, what Pippa Skotnes (1994: 319) calls "creative exploration", to a general reliance on colour photography. These shifts run parallel to a decline in manual drawing across scientific disciplines generally. Where hand-drawing is still practised, it is within a systematic and apparently unauthored technique of tracing and redrawing in black ink, which complements photography, doing precisely what photography does not do.

The convention of translating rock paintings into monochrome diagrams derived from tracings or other copies goes back at least to the twenties in the study of southern African rock paintings (e.g. Burkitt 1928: fig.XXII, Frobenius 1931a). Building on this tradition, a more specialized tracing technique developed and flourished during the 1980s out of the Rock Art Research Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand (Lewis-Williams 1996a). It has generated some debate (e.g. Den Hoed & Loubser 1991, Skotnes 1996a), producing images that appear to be a more systematic kind of translation carried out by two to three people per drawing in order to minimize idiosyncratic interpretation. Currently, it remains the preferred mode of reproduction by the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI), although digital techniques currently in development seem poised to disturb this status quo. The tracers draw with clutch pencils on professional quality tracing paper in situ, and later at a drawing table their field tracings are transferred into clean

lines and shapes in black ink (**Fig. 5.1**), often by others employed for this purpose such as fine arts students or graduates.

Pippa Skotnes sees the "re-creations of the paintings in the form of … thin black line drawings" (1996a: 237)[5] as perfectly suited to serve the currently dominant ethnographic approach to the interpretation of the paintings. Nineteenth-century sources, namely the foundational article by Joseph Orpen (1874) and the Orpen and Bleek archive,[6] have been used in triangulation with twentieth-century San ethnography to propose a "pan-San" spirituality and culture (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: xix–xx) supporting an overarching shamanistic paradigm for the interpretation of the art. The complementary work of Orpen, Bleek, Lloyd and their informants, has intrigued researchers since its rediscovery in the 1970s and catalysed the study of Bushman or San culture into an "academic industry" (Lewis-Williams 2006: n.2). Skotnes argues that this reduction of the paintings into stylistically uniform, "visually bland" drawings supports the search for widespread structures and similarities in the art and turns them into "mere illustrations of San belief or … of theories of San belief" (1996a: 236, 238).

Rock art workers are of course well aware of the difference between the monochrome diagrams and the original. While redrawings derived from tracings have become an indispensable tool for research, researchers warn that they should not ever be regarded as "equivalent to the art or think that [they have] captured every feature" (Lewis-Williams 1990a: 128). Dowson observes that "tracings… accurately capture the outline and detail, that is, the iconographic content. But, in a sense, even these reproductions are highly inaccurate" (1996: 318). The iconographic preoccupation that dominates the field of rock art studies corresponds in reality with a narrow definition of what an image is made of, and might more appropriately be called 'figural iconographic' where the meaningful content of the image consists of outlines of visual forms, in other words the shapes of individual motifs (e.g. antelope, human, hybrid figure, circle, line and so on). Any purported awareness of subtleties or selectivity aside, such redrawings, capturing as they do the "salient form of the image", function as authoritative and unambiguous documents and are considered at present to be the "most useful for the purpose of academic investigation and scholarship" (Leibhammer 2009: 58).

Leibhammer points out that in these tracings, the "[r]ecording [of] every feature is of primary importance" but that clear iconographic forms are privileged above all other aspects, with colour, for example, assuming a secondary role (2009: 57). I provide a close visual analysis of this mode in the final section of this thesis (chapter 5) but at this stage in my analysis an understanding of the dominant iconographic focus is essential for writing a critical history of visual recording.

ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY

Some authors use the terms iconography and iconology interchangeably while others have attempted to make a distinction between the two (e.g. Panofsky 1962: 3-17; Mitchell 1986: 1-3; Davis 1996: 126-7). Neither definition of these related concepts is straightforward. Iconography began as the study of Christian religious icons and has since been extended to include all traditional and religious symbols, and more recently it is understood as the "branch of the history of art which concerns

[5] Skotnes's "thin black line" makes reference to Lewis-Williams's 1981 "thin red line" article, which argues for a link between a recurring red line motif in the paintings and supernatural potency.

[6] The Digital Bleek and Lloyd (lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za; last viewed 18 April 2012).

itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form" (Panofsky 1962: 3). An iconographic analysis of an image nonetheless proceeds from a first stage of identifying an "expressive form … in the sense identified by formalism" (Davis 2011: 192), but is concerned thereafter with ascribing meaning to it and comparing it with its contemporaries and predecessors to establish how differences in subject matter correspond with differences in meaning. It does not centrally deal with how the image means—how it is formed plastically and perceived visually to represent what it does—but rather what it means.

In his classic study of the art of the European Renaissance, Panofsky (1962: 14-15) establishes three levels of interpretation. The ground level is "pre-iconographical" and concerned with identifying and describing the formal motifs contained in a given image. The first level of iconographical analysis deals with "images, stories and allegories" that can only be gleaned through a certain familiarity with "themes and concepts" as transmitted through literary sources. He then proposes a second, deeper level of iconographical analysis as a history of "cultural symptoms", enabling "insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts"; thus it entails the "intrinsic meanings or content" of the artwork. For Panofsky, iconology passes through all levels of iconographic interpretation (pre-iconography, iconography in the narrow sense and deeper iconography or iconology) as one "organic and indivisible process" (ibid.: 17). In this structure, the ground-level pre-iconographic description and first-level iconographic analysis are necessary preliminary steps towards the more comprehensive second-level interpretative analysis.

Over the last thirty years, the central thrust of southern African rock art research can be characterized methodologically as essentially iconographic in the tiered Panofskian sense (cf. Nettleton 1984: 68). The deeper level of iconographic analysis would involve an examination of "all the symbols within the composition in relation to each other and in relation to the context of their creation", so it would be "primarily concerned with San conceptions of the world and not with the imposition of Western paradigm" (ibid.). In the past, "[i]n the absence, often, of secure iconographic understanding … or an anthropological 'explanation' of rock pictures, formal [or figural] analysis of images—and of the syntax of a sequence of images—[was] our primary strategy" (Davis 1985: 5). But the South African example of a quest for meaning through sustained ethnographic and anthropological analogy over the last thirty years is considered a beacon of light in "that darkness of gloom which sees the meaning of rock art as unknowable" (Blundell et al. 2010b: 2). Yet Davis still sees the predominant "iconographic decipherments of San images" as lacking a deeper, properly "iconological" dimension which would entail "an examination of disjunctive sense and use" of symbolic forms that might tell us about the depictions themselves, their own internal coherence and their materiality (1996: 126-7). Indeed, the iconographic focus that has dominated the field of rock art studies corresponds with a narrow definition of what an image is made of, and might more precisely be called 'figural iconographic' where the iconographic content of the image consists of outlines of visual forms, in other words the shapes of individual motifs (e.g. antelope, human, hybrid figure, circle, line and so on).

Since completing his landmark doctoral thesis in 1977 (1981a), David Lewis-Williams has occupied a hugely influential position in the field of rock art studies in southern Africa. He has addressed the challenge of studying the visual products of an extinct way of life mediated in fragments through a language that is no longer spoken, an artistic tradition whose last living practitioners

brushed up briefly against the historical era before vanishing completely. His iconographic approach began in a narrower Panofskian vein, constrained by the limited historical documents at his disposal and centrally concerned with literary meaning and religious symbolism:

> [Ethnography and iconography] can illumine each other to give an understanding of the complexity and subtlety of southern San thought and its expression in the rock art. The ethnography and the iconography are interrelated expressions of a single belief system … (Lewis-Williams 1980: 479).

More than three decades on, one can look back and reflect on how the field of rock art studies has developed and flourished around this ethnographic approach, since expanded to incorporate a neuropsychological dimension (Blundell et al. 2010b), both grounded in the figural iconography of the paintings. Lewis-Williams seeks to address the paintings' full symbolic spectrum in terms of San or Bushman religion, frequently characterized as "essentially shamanistic" (e.g. ibid.: 2). The "classic" shamanistic approach has been so successful that:

> [t]he danger now is that researchers could easily leave the matter there, the blanket art-for-art's-sake interpretation having been replaced by another all-embracing explanation. An analogy with Western art illustrates the situation. Art historians agree that much European Renaissance art is Christian. But they find it inadequate to state simply that a picture depicts, for instance, the Nativity and then to leave it at that. Rather, they examine each work of art on its own terms to discover how its creator wove together Christian symbols and thereby constructed a personal, nuanced view of well-known subjects. As they interpret images, art historians also consider the socio-economic contexts in which paintings were made. We argue that a complex approach of this kind can be adopted in the study of San rock art (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42).

This passage indicates a desire to go beyond, or carry further, what the ethnographic-neuropsychological approach has been able to provide, however influential and productive it continues to be in its current form (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009; Ouzman 2010b). An analysis that seeks to move 'beyond shamanism' can be conceived in terms of the potential of the shamanistic model as well as its shortcomings.

Critics of the shamanistic model suggest that it generates "generalized and ahistorical understandings of the … hunter-gatherer past" (Mazel 2011: 285) and indeed several of its limitations have been identified, most significantly for archaeologists in relation to issues of time and space (Blundell et al. 2010b: 3-5). Dating and chronology are a perennial problem in rock art studies everywhere. Without a temporal structure of some kind, ethnographically situated explanations can only hope to provide a relatively static framework of interpretation that tends towards the creation of a timeless and essentializing past. As Blundell et al. (2010b: 3) envisage, "if a strongly structured chronology does emerge, our knowledge of San rock art will be enriched by some grasp of how (and then perhaps why) it has changed." Mazel (2009a) is optimistic in his summary of recent progress in the dating of the rock art of the Maloti-Drakensberg. While the "[classic] approach has encouraged rock art researchers in the Maloti-Drakensberg region to minimise the variety of expression in it and the possibility of change through time", a substantially more complex picture of parietal artistic expression might yet emerge, as "our improving appreciation of the chronology of the rock art makes it increasingly difficult to pursue this approach without acknowledging the extensive time-depth of the rock art and its dynamic nature" (Mazel 2009a: 95).

Related in many fundamental ways to the problem of time is that of space. The Maloti-Drakensberg is the "classic" research area of the "classic" approach; how far one can move out of this region carrying the same interpretative package? As Blundell et al. sum up,

> most southern African researchers would acknowledge that the classic approach as such can only be applied to rock art south of the Zambezi River, and there only to San rock art; the other regional traditions, such as the southern African herder and farmer rock arts, require a different approach (2010b: 4).

Elsewhere, the suitability of the shamanistic model as the starting point and central interpretive framework, even within the "classic" area of San research, is hotly debated (e.g. Le Quellec 2001; Dowson 2007; Solomon 2011; Mazel 2011), but the model has shown itself to be amenable to contextual analysis that generates more socially dynamic histories (e.g. Yates et al. 1994; Dowson 1994; Blundell 2004; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a) and incorporates experiential and phenomenological aspects (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Skotnes 1994; Ouzman 1997). Molyneaux suggests that rock art research tends to fall into the category of either "interpretation" or "experience":

> [R]ock art is simple, direct, and most often lacking in an archaeological context – a signal that, like abstraction, its cipher-like images demand interpretation. There are indeed a vast number of interpreters. … To make rock art even more potent, it is solidly situated, bound to the earth – proof of its primitiveness and fundamentality and therefore open to additional musings on its place in the landscape (1997b: 7).

Further, he raises the issue of "reinforcement and inertia" in rock art as visual representation where "images [seem to] sit passively, reflecting colour and form to anyone who sees them" (ibid.) because of the tremendous staying power that may "persist long after the ideas behind the images have gone out of fashion" (ibid.: 6). Although this inertia and directness influence the way in which rock art "speaks" to its viewers, they are of course an illusion. I argue that, beyond the painted rock face, following the initial transition from original to copy and through the translation and circulation of the copy, the paintings haven't remained frozen in the extinction of the culture that produced them, but have continued to change pictorially, accumulating different meanings as images reproduced in the literate world. One might then argue that the study of the art itself is, or should be seen as, distinct from that of the copies, the former being the central scientific aim of disciplines such as archaeology and rock art studies, and the latter a more reflexive enterprise subsumed into visual studies or art history. But I maintain that although each copy is, inevitably, a product of its time, it also plays a fundamental role in creating understandings of the past. I furthermore argue that in "classic" iconographic studies of rock art there is often too seamless or unquestioning a shift from the original art to the copies. I aim to make visible and ultimately rupture that seam.

The necessary translations that rock art images undergo in the course of research is a fundamental issue affecting and constraining rock art studies in southern Africa (and further afield). Many kinds of images other than the rock paintings themselves also participate in this field of enquiry. Recording and research make use of a wide range of different media (notes, sketches, watercolours, tracings, redrawings, analogue photographs, copy negatives, mixed-media techniques, digitally enhanced photographs, and so on) and this diversity is reflected in the materials examined in the course of this thesis.

In the remaining sections of the foundation chapter (sections 1.2 and 1.3), and in the following archival chapters (chapters 2 and 4), I provide a descriptive account of a number of copies. Those I discuss in any detail are published in colour in the second volume of my thesis. For the unpublished archival sources pertaining to my second case study, I provide black-and-white catalogue images for reference purposes.

I examine the copies in the first instance on an empirical level. What does one observe when they are compared with the rock paintings? How accurate are they? To what extent can they mediate or facilitate the study of the original? To what extent can they replace the original? In order to enter into an analysis of the relationship between copy and original, I adopt a genealogical approach, because the relationship of the copies to the original can be likened to a lineage. Copies can be very diverse in appearance and are often copies of copies, and thus more than once removed, but they are all related to an original painted rock artwork; for them to be identified as copies, they need to capture something specific about the original parietal artworks they derive from.

Frequently underpinning discussions around historical copies is the idea that recording techniques used today provide a more accurate reflection of the paintings than techniques used by early, non-specialized copyists. But, as Leibhammer (2009) concludes (as others have also done), no copy is perfect, each excluding, including and manipulating information in a unique way. It was not only early attempts at copying that had their 'limitations': all techniques have them. Leibhammer quotes the currently most widely accepted convention of black-ink illustration as "possibly the most useful for the purpose of academic investigation and scholarship", enabling the copyist to capture the "salient form of the image" (ibid.: 58), but definitions of usefulness and accuracy in documentation and analysis warrant continuous questioning. While this interrogation is not new with regard to theoretical paradigms (see for example Lewis-Williams 1990a, 2006; Lewis-Williams & Loubser 1986), it has not often been extended to the study of images, which remain under-theorized and enigmatic. I seek to destabilize the idea of a rock art copy as an objective or neutral scientific product or vector of 'truth', to establish it as an embedded, if speculative, part of the scientific process, and to demonstrate that, like the production of knowledge generally, it is neither neutral nor objective but always historically constituted. In the words of William J. T. Mitchell,

> instead of providing a transparent window on the world, images are now regarded as the sort of sign that presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparence concealing an opaque, distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation, a process of ideological mystification" (1984: 504).

To address this problem of representation, Mitchell describes a new kind of iconology that is conceptualized in terms of image, text and ideology (1986). He builds on Panofsky's earlier differentiation of "the interpretation of the total symbolic horizon of an image [iconology] from the cataloguing of particular symbolic motifs [iconography]", seeking to "further generalize the interpretive ambitions of iconology by asking it to consider the idea of the image as such" (ibid.: 2). Since Panofsky's time we have experienced an exponential increase in the production of visual culture; today we live in a world saturated by images and the field of visual theory is vast (e.g. Elkins 1999; Davis 2011). A critical iconological approach does not in practice focus for any length of time on any particular image but involves the "general study of images across the media" (Mitchell 2005: 6), reconciling them with their historical context, relating them to one another and interrogating their very status as images. Mitchell locates himself among a new strain of "iconologists", who, "[u]nlike art historians … don't require that images have artistic status or merit, and … don't have to stick with a single medium like painting or sculpture, but tend to work comparatively across the visual and verbal media" (1998: 52).

It is within a related iconological optic that I undertake this visual study across a specialized disciplinary niche that concentrates a wide range of pictorial positions. The copies and renderings produced and used by rock art researchers in the course of their work provide a tight field for the analysis of translations from one kind of picture to another, as well as between the verbal and visual. What emerges is an investigation of the essential role that these play in the production of rock art knowledge. My analysis has implications for archaeological representation more widely and I also point in the direction of increased understandings of the visual and pictorial nature of the original rock paintings.

My study is in some respects analogous to Michael Wessels' (2010) writing on the textuality of the nineteenth-century ethnographic material contained in the Bleek and Lloyd archive, one of the central sources used to formulate interpretations of San rock paintings. Wessels suggests that it is "somewhat ironic that |Xam survives only in written form, since the Bleek and Lloyd Collection is generally celebrated as the literature of an oral culture" (ibid.: 2). In the course of my study I develop the idea that the conventional monotonal illustrations translate rock paintings into a more text-like material, because they reduce messy, colourful, three-dimensional paintings to figural diagrams that are made up of binary values. These diagrams accompany explanations of meaning that are established in relation to ethnographic and anthropological texts about San communities. Like orality, which cannot be fully translated into text, I argue that the paintings have a fundamental pictorial significance that this figural iconographic treatment does not address (cf. Nettleton 1985). Moreover, the fact that many people over many years have been moved to record and copy the paintings suggests that their visual aesthetic and affective qualities are an essential part of their appeal, without, or prior to, any knowledge of the semantics of their symbolic constituents.

Wessels suggests that "the narratives [derived from the Bleek and Lloyd archive] should be read in the context of an intertextual |Xam discursive field rather than as myths" (2010: 19). Similarly, rock art images might usefully be examined within the frame of what might somewhat awkwardly be called their 'intervisuality', because of the many acts of translation that occur each time a copy (or copy of a copy) is produced. Wessels quotes Elana Bregin as she describes the difference between reading the notebooks and reading the edited collections, which for me has clear resonance with the process of comparing the 'messy' original parietal imagery to the tidier, more convenient published diagrams:

> Encoded in their convoluted, repetitive and aesthetically untidy structure is a far better sense of the cultural 'strangeness' and perceptual and expressive 'difference' of the Bushman worldview than is offered by the more lyrically flowing versions of the later collections (Bregin 1998: 87 quoted in Wessels 2010: 12).

The question of the dominance of crisp monochrome redrawings is not limited to a southern African context. Knut Helskog (2010) describes her growing awareness of the importance of visual documentation and illustration of rock engravings in her research area in northernmost Europe:

> I had focused on the figures themselves as so many before me had done … In good Scandinavian tradition, I had traced all of the figures onto plastic sheets, joined them together and then reproduced all within a single redrawing, but without really seeing the surrounding rock or the surfaces between

> the images. I knew that aspects of the surfaces had to be recorded, but I really did not know which features to record. Traditionally, some fissures and cracks are drawn, especially if they run through engravings, but they are not included in the discussion of meaning … Our traditional strong focus on the figures constrains what we see, record and interpret: this is what I mean by the tyranny of the figures … (2010: 172).

A critique of an authoritative illustrative norm does not, however, necessarily entail its overthrowing or subversion. Wessels, for example, rather than seeking to replace old interpretations with "truer" ones, seeks to "explore how different regimes of truth have produced particular kinds of knowledge … and to describe the contours of that knowledge" (2010: 35). The challenges of capturing in pictographic copies the complexity of rock paintings points to the indeterminacy, provisionality and uncertainty of knowledge (Smiles & Moser 2005b: 11). I explore epistemological implications more closely in the final section, but in the first stages my study is grounded in the empirical as I put to the fore the specific limitations and abilities for different kinds of images to communicate something about the original parietal imagery.

It would benefit all rock art archaeologists and scholars to approach more critically the visual systems and assumptions they use in the course of their work and in the communication of the findings of their research. Smiles and Moser believe that:

> the imaging of archaeology should not remain a peripheral concern, for it offers a particularly rewarding point of entry into the discipline's past and present working assumptions. The power of the visual image needs to be understood, its ability to select and organize knowledge, to compress time and space, to insinuate conclusions, and to tidy away the inconvenient and the complex in the interests of a compelling vision is as true now as it has ever been (2005b: 6).

1.2

Early rock art records in the wider region (mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries)

PUSHING BACK THE FRONTIER

George William Stow (b.1822–d.1882) is remembered as a pioneer recorder of rock art, and "the first of the great names in the study of South African rock art" (Willcox 1975: 3) but he was not the first to make field copies. "Several of the early European travellers had reported and made copies of rock paintings and engravings" (Deacon & Deacon 1999: 4).

Such early reports and copies are, however, scarce and scattered. I elaborate here on examples given in previous historical overviews of rock art investigations (Rudner & Rudner 1970: 245-48; Willcox 1963: 1, 1975), but elaborate on the visual aspects of this history while adding several previously unconsidered examples to the chronology of the first hundred years of Europeans' reports of rock paintings in the region of the Cape Colony.[1] Records follow the eastward moving pattern of colonial exploration and settlement (**Map 2**). The material dealt with in this section reflects rock painting sites located on the edges of Van Riet Lowe's "South-Eastern Group" which comprises rock paintings closer to the high Maloti-Drakensberg (1952: 7; **Plate 1.1.4**). The next section deals with references and copies from that region. Neither of these sections should be seen as a comprehensive overview because archival searches may reveal more examples, but they provide a historical framework for this period.

BOSJESMANS, HOTTENTOTS AND LITTLE CHINESE

Early explorers associated rock art with peripheral and increasingly residual indigenous groups in the margins or at the bottom of colonial society. The various names used by writers in the eighteenth century reflect the general confusion and vagueness around the identities of the people associated with the paintings. In his 1777 travel journal Robert Jacob Gordon refers to the authors of the paintings as "Hottentots" (Raper & Boucher 1988: 83)[2] while his drawings are annotated as copies of drawings by "Chinese Bosjesmans Hottentotten" (**Plate 1.2.1**). Sir John Barrow considered the paintings to be the work of the "Bosjesmans", the "true aborigines of the country, unmixed with any other tribes" (Barrow 1801: 158), ferocious and the least civilized of all of these (Barrow 1801: 234).

[1] One might think about why the early copies were only produced by British and some other European settlers and travellers, and not by the trekboers or Voortrekkers.

[2] Pg.10-11 of the "second journey", Robert Jacob Gordon journals (last viewed 17 November 2011): http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/age/people/Gordon/

Elsewhere he refers to the "Bosjesmans" as the "real Hottentots", in their "general physical character [bearing] a strong resemblance to the Pigmies and Troglodytes" (ibid.: 282). Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr referred to the authors of the paintings as "Bushman-Hottentots".[3] Beutler and Hoofd (1896: 68; Theal 1922: 153) reported that a group associated with paintings in the area of the "Vischrivier" were known to other members of the expedition as the "Kleijne Chinesen" (Little Chinese), and also as the "d' Gauas", a kind of "Hottentot" with the lifestyle similar to that of the "Bosjesmans". Later the English equivalent "Bushmen" entered into more common usage, and in time it came to refer to all hunter-gatherers of southern Africa, who are now often commonly referred to as San, distinct from the pastoralist Khoi (previously referred to as "Hottentots"; e.g. Marks 1972). The existence of cultural, economic, linguistic, and physical diversity and nuance within the large group was not widely recognized before the historical, anthropological and archaeological research of recent decades. San studies have grown into specialized fields of academic enquiry in their own right, recently called an "academic industry" (Lewis-Williams 2006: 350, n.2).

Martin Legassick (1980: 60) proposes that the frontier in South Africa was not a hard outward edge, but rather involved "inclusion as well as exclusion"; it was a place where different groups negotiated with one another and various categories of Africans were slowly becoming "integral parts of the total society" in various ways. Clifton Crais further suggests that "[n]ineteenth-century European visitors focussed on one set of boundaries—those of language and community—which were neither as fixed nor as impermeable as they imagined, and they used them to erect rigid ethnic classifications" (1992: 11). These geographic and cultural-linguistic classifications have persisted and underlie much current historical and archaeological research as well as, inevitably, research that seeks to challenge them. Nettleton (2007: 43-4) concedes that "ethnic or linguistic groupings have been useful, and are probably still inescapable, in establishing a taxonomic base for the study and understanding of the diverse arts of African peoples", but suggests that identities should always be studied as constructed and situational, and that material culture must also always be examined for other kinds of networks and relationships.

It has been shown that there are no clear-cut boundaries between the San and Khoi, certainly not along linguistic or genetic lines, although variety can to some extent be determined on the grounds of different economic strategies, different ways of life (Marks 1972: 57; Barnard 2008). The problem of the authorship of the paintings regionally, and of what names to use in the interests of historical accuracy and ethical practice, has generated much debate because, in the words of Mitchell and Smith (2009b: 9), the "appropriate nomenclature for discussing the peoples of southern Africa and their past is bedevilled by history". There was a time not so long ago when writers typically accompanied their work with a short disclaimer that no pejorative meaning was intended with either of the terms "San" or "Bushmen" (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 8-9; Ouzman 1998: 42; Smith & Van Schalkwyk 2002: 235; Challis 2005: 19 among many others) but more recent scholarship appears to demonstrate that there is no longer a strong need to make such a statement. There is also currently a more or less consensual and interchangeable use of the names "San" or "Bushmen", although a preference for "San" seems to prevail. My position is that the problem of naming is insoluble and that choosing a name above another for whatever reason is simply a move to comply with a scholarly convention (cf. Etherington 2001: 8). For the most part, names referring to these painting hunter-gatherer groups are invented from the outside and it is not logical to claim

[3] Excerpt dated 14 October 1776 from Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr's journals (SFA).

any kind of preference based on authenticity. In my study the difference between these names is largely unimportant (cf. Wright 1971: vi). Like Wessels (2010: xii) I use the names as they appear in the sources to which I refer.

THE EARLIEST REFERENCE

Rock paintings must have been noticed from the earliest explorations. The Heerenlogement cave (inland from Lamberts Bay, Western Cape) contains rock paintings described in 1783 by François Le Vaillant (b.1753–1824) as "caricatures of the elephant and ostrich" (quoted in Pearson 1912: 44) and was visited from the mid-seventeenth century, although the earliest inscriptions date from the eighteenth century (Kirby 1942). Colonial explorers' objectives were primarily military, scientific or commercial and interest in the parietal art was at first correspondingly marginal, so it took some time before the rock artworks were referred to in documents. Here I begin with the earliest reference, which is written; thereafter I concentrate on graphic copies. The (or one of the) earliest recorded observations of rock paintings in southernmost Africa takes us back to the year 1752 (e.g. Theal 1922: 153; Willcox 1963: 1; Rudner & Rudner 1970: 245).

In this year an expedition under the direction of Ensign August Frederik Beutler was despatched from the Castle of Good Hope into the land on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony "mainly for the purpose of acquiring information concerning the inhabitants and ascertaining if any articles of commercial value could be obtained from them" (Theal 1922: 146). While the expedition was travelling through a tract of land inhabited solely by "Little Chinese" over the Tshumie, Kat, Koonap, Baviaans', Tarka and Fish rivers (into what in now the Eastern Cape), its members observed numerous rock paintings.

Carel Albrecht Haupt, who was in charge of keeping the expedition diary (and whose name was translated into the Dutch 'Hoofd' for its publication), recorded that they

> noticed that in places here many pictures were found painted on the rocks, these being the work of the d'Gaua, who are called Little Chinese by our travellers. We went to a place about two hours from our camp to see these. Under the ridge of a kloof, in a kind of cave in which one could shelter from wind and rain, we saw pictures of wild horses, baboons and people in various positions, painted on the rocks in red, white and black. Some were rather well drawn, others not, the latter seeming to be the work of pupils. It is astonishing to find such things among such a coarse and ignorant people (Beutler & Hoofd 1896: 68 translated in Wilson 2005: 9).

Haupt also observed that:

> [t]hese d' Gaua [now spelt */gaua*], as we understood it, are a kind of Hottentot, though small of stature and of an extremely fearful nature. They are like the Bushmen in their apparel and way of life, but much more adept than these and the other Hottentots in the handling of bow and arrow. They are great lovers of the art of painting and everywhere one finds one or other painting on the rocks they find suitable (Beutler & Hoofd 1896: 69 translated in Wilson 2005: 9).

As Wilson (2005: 9) laments, although the Beutler expedition was a sizeable affair comprising members with a variety of skills, and despite the instruction that the expedition's surveyor and cartographer Carel David Wentzel was to make drawings of unusual objects including new plants and animals (Beutler & Hoofd 1896: 5), no copies are known to have been made of the rock paintings they saw.

Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon and/or his draughtsman assistant Johannes Schumacher produced several copies of rock paintings in the Sneeuwberg during an expedition to the Orange River from October 1777 to March 1778. These are generally believed to be the earliest extant graphic copies in existence (Bahn 1998: 27; Wilson 2005: 10), not only from southern Africa but from the whole African continent (Davis 1990: 271). There was, however, a suspicion that earlier copies dated from 1776 (Willcox 1963: 1, 1975: 2; Pager 1975: 26), because in that year Schumacher was engaged on an expedition into the eastern margins of the Cape Colony in the employ of Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr.

Swellengrebel Jr (b.1734–d.1803) was the son of Hendrik Swellengrebel Sr (b.1700–d.1760), Governor of the Cape Colony between 1739 and 1751. The younger Swellengrebel conducted three relatively brief wagon-assisted voyages to various parts of the Colony in late 1776 and early 1777 (Forbes 1965: 59). He employed Schumacher on the second and longest of these, from 10 September to 26 December, during which they travelled "north-east to Caffraria and thence home along the south-east coast" (Hallema 1951: 7;[4] Forbes 1965: 59-80). The aims of the expedition were privately motivated but documentary, and Swellengrebel Jr conducted his journeys "moving quickly and with the minimum of equipment". Thus Schumacher's task was "an intimate, unpretentious task—to illustrate by sketches Swellengrebel's personal diary" (Hallema 1951: 10). This may have been Schumacher's first artistic service in an otherwise military career, as he appears on the Cape Muster Roles for the period 1770 to 1789 during which period he worked as a soldier in various companies (Forbes 1965: 60). He was of German origin and wrote the captions for his drawings in a mixture of German and bad Dutch (Hallema 1951: 5).

Most of the aquarelles created by him on this journey were published in black and white in a book titled *The Cape in 1776-1777* (Hallema 1951). These works consist of fifty-six landscapes, including several panoramic views on horizontally elongated formats and the appendix lists eleven aquarelles that were not included in this album (ibid.: 13). The final entry is intriguingly listed as "Drawings of inland animals drawn by a Native, Hottentot, Bushman or other Native". Hallema reports that few, and even fewer explicitly named, references to Schumacher are to be found in Swellengrebel Jr's journals, but one reference concerns his asking the draughtsman to copy certain rock paintings (ibid.: 5; Macfarlane 1954). The title of the final aquarelle makes it sound like 'drawings of drawings', and some have assumed it to be a copy—the earliest known copy—of rock paintings (Vol. 2: frontispiece). In reality this artistic work is something quite different, but nonetheless a strange and fascinating document.

The entry under 14 October 1776 in Swellengrebel's journal explains that while travelling along the "Camdeboschen berg" they encountered "one of those Bushmen-Hottentots that people call Chinese"[5] on a farm that was probably located in the north-west corner of the embayment in the mountains north of Aberdeen (this is now on the western side of the Eastern Cape; Forbes 1965: 67). Because Swellengrebel had heard during the course of his travels that, in the regions such people came from, the rocks were covered in paintings of animals, he placed a sheet of paper in front of the unsuspecting individual and instructed him to draw. The man produced a number of schematic, naïvely drawn animal figures, essentially blobs with stick legs, ears and horns, as well

[4] Hallema refers to this as the first journey but Forbes (1965: 59, 158, n.8) calls it the second.

[5] Swellengrebel journals. SFA (my translation).

as several depictions of people. Swellengrebel notes that the names of the various figures had to be written like labels beneath each one of them ("reijnnoster", "vogelstruijs", "hottentot" and so on), otherwise it would not have been clear what kinds were supposed to be represented.[6]

Thus the Schumacher aquarelle is in reality not an aquarelle, not attributable to Schumacher and not a direct copy of rock art. Schumacher may have provided the ink and paper, and it may have been he who subsequently wrote the figures' 'labels' and the text along the bottom edge of the drawing: "Teekeningen door een Kaffer of een Hottentot vervaardigd (2de helft 18de eeuw)" ("Drawings produced by a Kaffir or Hottentot (2nd half of the 18th century"). Because this unnamed man was thought to be a member of a culture that was known for its production of art on the rocks, it was assumed that he would be able to adequately produce images representative of this practice; however, his drawing shows that he was not an experienced image-maker, in Western art media at any rate, and probably not in any 'traditional' rock painting media either. This drawing is reminiscent of those published in *Der Mond als Schuh* (Szalay 2002: 115, 131 etc.), which, although they carry historical weight for the ethnographic and iconographic information they might contain, cannot be compared with pictures produced by accomplished artists of image-making societies. Here too the "drawings are treated as indexical for words" and were essentially the products of the "expectations of the Europeans who provided the materials, the script, and the need for the images" (Nettleton 2005: 92). Whether the "Kaffir/Bushman/Hottentot" artist was actually trying to imitate rock paintings is open to debate and I suspect he was simply drawing animals because he had been instructed to do so.

THE "GORDON" DRAWINGS

In 1777 Schumacher worked in the employ of Robert Jacob Gordon (1743–1795) on another exploratory journey from October through to March 1778 "into the Sneeuberg and the eastern frontier, and north to the Orange river, returning along the coast between the mouths of the Great Fish and Gourits rivers" (Forbes 1965: 94-9; Raper & Boucher 1988: 39). Gordon is considered one of the "least heralded of South Africa's early explorers" and while the "ostensible reason for [his] journeys into the interior has never been explicitly stated", he may have been "making observations of a military nature that could be used to hold the Cape against possible foreign intruders".[7] His aim was certainly entirely different from that of Swellengrebel: Gordon conducted something more akin to "an official survey, leisured, well-equipped, at times almost encyclopaedic in purpose" (Hallema 1951: 10). He collected observations in the form of journals and drawings demonstrating in several important respects that he was ahead of his time in his understanding of weather patterns, geology and the plant and animal kingdoms. He also documented his encounters with Africans and made contributions of an archaeological and ethnographic nature. Andrew Smith suggests that "[h]is abilities to see South Africa's geography, natural history and people with a clear eye, unhindered by contemporary 18th century ideas and prejudices, is all too apparent to the reader of his journal..."[8] For example, he was:

[6] Ibid.

[7] Introduction to the Robert Jacob Gordon website by Andrew Smith (last viewed 17 November 2011): http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/age/people/Gordon/frameset.htm/

[8] Ibid.

> able to recognize the role of humans in forming shell middens on the coast, and to ask himself about the difference between those shell accumulations which might be human-derived, or natural, particularly those in the mountains, high above the modern coastline. Thus we see an inkling of an understanding of geology and geological processes at the same time James Hutton's ideas of uniformitarianism were being formed (1785)…"[9]

His journals were published for the first time almost two centuries after his death (Raper & Boucher 1988)[10] and about a third of the 456 drawings in colour that he drew, or had drawn by his artist assistant(s), have been published (Forbes 1965; Raper & Boucher 1988; Cullinan 1992).

On November 15, 1777, somewhere beyond the "Sneeuw Bergen" (north of Compassberg), Gordon stated that "[e]verywhere here one finds drawings of the Hottentots on the rocks; of people, animals etc." but it was the following day he saw paintings with his own eyes for the first time:

> Arrived after a distance of two hours at the foot of a mountain. Their [the Hottentots'] hiding place was in the highest crags of this. Climbed to the top and after a quarter of an hour's climb reached the cliff which jutted out and formed a shallow but long hollow. Here we found the horns of oxen that had been eaten and other bones. Here for the first time I saw their drawings on the rocks. Some of them were fair but as a whole they were poor and exaggerated. They had drawn different animals, mostly in black or red and yellow; some people too. I can easily understand why it is said that they have drawn unknown animals because one had to make many guesses as to what they were. Made a drawing of the best, where the cave lay deep in baboon droppings and left for our wagons (Raper & Boucher 1988: 83).

This "drawing of the best" generated four colour sketches in combinations of ink, pencil and watercolour (Raper & Boucher 1988: 84; Bahn 1998: 24; Willcox 1963: 11; **Plate 1.2.1**).

The authorship of the drawings created on Gordon's expeditions is uncertain. It is likely he drew some himself, but many or most of them were probably created by the artist(s) working for him. The annotations on the four sheets of paper depicting rock paintings are in Gordon's handwriting and the drawings are credited to him[11] but they may have been created by an artist in his employ, possibly by Schumacher (as suggested by Bahn 1998: 27; Wilson 2005: 10). Hallema has noted the similarity between Gordon's and Schumacher's drawings (1951: 10) and it has only recently been discovered that Schumacher accompanied Gordon. He is the only artist to be mentioned by name in Gordon's journals (Raper & Boucher 1988: 15), who referred to him as "Schoemaker" or "Schoenmaker" (e.g. Raper & Boucher 1988: 127, 165, 354). But as Forbes (1965: 98) observes, "[s]ome of the drawings in the Gordon collection have been executed in a manner far inferior to others, and it seems likely that the rougher drawings are attributable to Gordon himself", a conclusion that he reaches "because they often bear inscriptions in Gordon's highly individual but rather untidy writing". Raper and Boucher (1988: 15) prefer not to attribute any authorship since "the vast majority of the so-called 'Gordon drawings' are unsigned". Compared with other drawings of animals created during Gordon's travels, the copies of rock-painted animals are somewhat childish or naïve in style. It is, however, difficult to say anything concrete about the style of these copies in relation to the originals, because rock paintings exist in naturalism of varied degree and kind, and so the apparent naiveté may be ascribable to the originals (**Plate 1.2.2**).

[9] Ibid.

[10] They are also viewable on the digital Gordon archive (see n. 7).

[11] Rijksmuseum's image database.

Schumacher's firmly attributed landscapes from the Swellengrebel expedition are also somewhat naïve in style and not incompatible with the style deployed to copy the rock paintings; Hallema observes that his "treatment of animals is somewhat stiff and formal" (1951: 9). Ideas the travellers had of the "Hottentots"' artistic abilities may also have influenced how they portrayed the paintings; Gordon was unimpressed because of the rock painters' apparent inability to depict animal subjects that were always clearly recognizable down to the species, even though some were quite explicit in depicting zebra as distinct from antelope, for example.

BARROW'S 'EKPHRASIS'

Sir John Barrow (b.1764–d.1848) forged the first of his voyages into the eastern interior from July 1797 to January 1798, initially following a route similar to that of the the Swellengrebel party (Forbes 1965: 133). A passage from his personal account of these travels (Barrow 1801: 239-240) provides a glimpse into his first experience of rock paintings in the Sneeuwberg on 21 or 22 October 1797 (**Fig. 1.2.1**).

This passage is well known and has been cited previously; Lewis-Williams (1983: 7, 10) quotes it in the prologue of a book, noting that Barrow "was not the first white traveller to see Bushman rock art, but he was one of the first to appreciate both its extraordinary aesthetic worth and its significance for a more realistic assessment of the much maligned Bushmen". Barrow certainly recognized the "brutal conduct" of many of the Dutch farmers towards the "Bosjesmans" (1801: 236) and appears to write about them with a mixture of fear and compassion. Others have recognized that Barrow was, for his time, outspoken in their defence (Penn 1993) and that he may not have been as derogatory as his writing sounds to our twenty-first century ears (Knox-Shaw 1997: 20). Elsewhere Barrow expressed more conventional opinions of them as filthy and gluttonous savages, with voices that are scarcely human, speaking an inarticulate language and living an uncivilized, marauding and ruthless way of life (e.g. 1801: 237, 283, 288). But at times he expressed this hatred and violence towards the "Bosjesmans" with somewhat of a remove, perhaps reflecting the positions of others more than his own. In that he was impressed in the moment by the paintings' "spirit", "force" and correctness (ibid.: 239), his position does differ from the other writers quoted so far (with the exception of Haupt's first quote above) because the artistic quality he saw in the paintings did not conform to the perceived savageness of the people.

This excerpt from Barrow's book is without illustrations, but it is descriptive in a visual way, suggesting that it might be possible to locate the actual physical site he was describing. The itineraries followed by the early explorers are not always easy to relate to specific locations according to modern-day understandings of the landscape, as Forbes's (1965) attempt to clarify these trajectories demonstrates. But Barrow's work was an expression of geographical and geological ideas better suited to the spirit of scientific enquiry of the nineteenth century (in which they were published) than the eighteenth (at the end of which his travels took place; ibid.: 132). Barrow's volumes contain "more material classifiable under the broad heading of geography than is to be found in any of the works published before his" (ibid.: 146).

This may be less true of the passages relating to rock paintings, which come up often but in relatively vague localities during his journey. In the text quoted above, his description of a site nonetheless consists of a list of iconographic ingredients that could form a unique site 'fingerprint'.

In one of theſe retreats were diſcovered their recent traces. The fires were ſcarcely extinguiſhed, and the graſs on which they had ſlept was not yet withered. On the ſmooth ſides of the cavern were drawings of ſeveral animals that had been made from time to time by theſe ſavages. Many of them were caricatures; but others were too well executed not to arreſt attention. The different antelopes that were there delineated had each their character ſo well diſcriminated, that the originals, from whence the repreſentations had been taken, could, without any difficulty, be aſcertained. Among the numerous animals that were drawn, was the figure of a zebra remarkably well done; all the marks and characters of this animal were accurately repreſented, and the proportions were ſeemingly correct. The force and ſpirit of drawings, given to them by bold touches judiciouſly applied, and by the effect of light and ſhadow, could not be expected from ſavages; but for accuracy of outline and correctneſs of the different parts, worſe drawings than that of the zebra have paſſed through the engraver's hands. The materials with which they had been executed were charcoal, pipe-clay, and the different ochres. The animals repreſented were zebras, qua-chas, gemſboks, ſpringboks, reeboks, elands, baboons, and oſtriches, all of which, except the gemſbok, are found upon the very ſpot. Several croſſes, circles, points, and lines, were placed in a long rank as if intended to expreſs ſome meaning; but no other attempt appeared at the repreſentation of inanimate objects. In the courſe of travelling, I had frequently heard the peaſantry mention the drawings in the mountains behind the Sneuwberg made by the Bosjeſmans; but I took it for granted they were caricatures only, ſimilar to thoſe on the doors and walls of uninhabited buildings, the works of idle boys; and it was no diſagreeable diſappointment to find them very much the reverſe. Some of the drawings were known to be new; but many of them had been remembered from the firſt ſettlement of this part of the colony.

Fig. 1.2.1. FIRST EXCERPT FROM SIR J. BARROW'S ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS INTO THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (1801: 239-240).

If along the trajectory of his journey a shelter were to be found conflating all the elements he describes, there would be little doubt as to the identity of the place. He listed a variety of animals depicted sufficiently naturalistically that in at least eight cases he was able to identify to the species, including a zebra, which seems to stand out as the most striking painting for him. He described the presence of two distinct styles, one naturalistic and another more caricatural. "[T]he effect of light and shadow" (Barrow 1801: 239) possibly refers to bichrome (or shaded?) painting techniques and his row(s) of "crosses, circles, points and lines" (ibid.: 240) suggest the presence of a more abstract, geometric form.

The matching of sites mentioned or portrayed in historical texts to images with existing physical painting locations is a gripping task and has been attempted before (e.g. Ouzman 2002; Ward 1997), not always successfully (e.g. Malan 1982; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2008: 2). It has been likened to "detective-style" work and "mystery-solving" (Ouzman 2002) and can be challenging because painting sites are numerous across the landscape and early accounts very vague. In early times, travellers were not yet aware of the dense distribution of sites and the sheer numbers of individual painted figures, and their verbal descriptions were highly selective and often without illustration.

Attempts to write about rock paintings illustrate the abilities and limitations of words when used to describe images. Carrier (1991) distinguishes between ekphrasis and interpretation as distinct modes of art writing. A dictionary definition sees ekphrasis as "a lucid, self-contained explanation or description" and Carrier defines it as "a verbal re-creation of a story depicted in a painting" (ibid.: 103). An ekphrasis, he says, is that which "conjures up an image ... in a text without illustrations" (ibid.: 103), concerned thus with the visual appearance of an artwork, whereas an interpretation aims to reveal its deeper meaning (ibid.: 110). He proposes, however, that ekphrasis can be considered a kind of interpretation, and that the difference between the two is arguably a matter of degree (ibid.: 104).

But if these two modes constitute two ends of a theoretical spectrum of art writing, Barrow's account of this rock art site is situated on the ekphrasis side, as it provides a relatively detailed list of observable features. Barrow's book was published at a time when illustrations were generally not included in great numbers in printed works. Other than a map, for 419 pages of writing only one figure appears (Barrow 1801: 313; this happens to be a putative "*fac simile* copy" of a rock painting). Yet the visual quality of his writing is undeniable. The book's sub-title includes "cursory observations on the geology and geography ..." and "sketches of the physical and moral characters of the various tribes of inhabitants...". The chapter titles in the Barrow book always include visual terms, for example "sketch" or "general view".

Carrier (1991: 104) suggests that an interpretation must be "probable if not provable", making "visible what had not previously been apparent", and be sufficiently convincing that the "picture seems to confess itself and the interpreter disappears". But whereas theoretically, and in general terms, a true ekphrasis cannot be wrong (although it can be selective, which is where it starts to fade towards interpretation) in providing a unique and unmistakable impression or "word-print", Carrier emphasizes the fact that an interpretation is always debatable; that it employs metonymy, inviting the students of the art to view the whole work in terms of the meaning of certain parts (ibid.:

109); and that an interesting interpretation aims to be controversial (ibid.: 113). Both ekphrasis and interpretation are necessary in art writing, but the positions they occupy are different. I suspect that any verbal interpretation of a rock painting always to some degree has an ekphratic function, and that most ekphrases have an interpretive dimension as well. It is equally hard to imagine a verbal interpretation of a rock painting that does not invite another interpretation (i.e. there is no definitive interpretation) as it is to imagine a description or copy of a rock painting that is pure ekphrasis.

Barrow writes, somewhat enigmatically, "for accuracy of outline and correctness of the different parts, worse drawings than that of the zebra have passed through the engraver's hands." He appears to suggest that there were also "worse"—perhaps in the sense of more rudimentary and less naturalistic—figurative paintings than the zebra. By "engraver" he may have meant "painter" and "worse" may have referred to the more caricatural style mentioned elsewhere in his text. But it is also possible that he referred to contemporaneous engravings produced by other artists of European origin depicting African animals such as the zebra, and that he considers the Bushman paintings he saw to be better in terms of their naturalism than many of these.

The identity of the site that introduced Barrow to rock paintings has not been established, but the ekphratic dimension of Barrow's text combined with the context provided by his itinerary may yet enable a secure site identification, assuming the shelter he observed over two centuries ago is still sufficiently intact.[12] His description is detailed in terms of an enumeration of figural graphic elements, but it is limited in other respects. He did not describe the position of the shelter in the landscape or the position of the paintings within the spatial layout of the "retreat". It is not possible to go very far in terms of locating or revisualizing it. For such visualization to be possible, and unlike a painting that occurs within the field of a rectangular canvas, rock painting sites require another level of description, that of their spatial articulation and their geology.

BARROW'S "*FAC SIMILE*" COPY

By the time Barrow neared the end of his journey he had seen countless animals painted on rocks. At one point he set his heart on finding a specific kind of animal subject. Because a member of the party claimed to have encountered a drawing of a unicorn some years before, on December 7, 1797 Barrow's party commenced a search for this creature depicted on the rocks in the Zuureberg (1801: 302). For some days the vision of the unicorn remained with them and eventually they found in "a

[12] Based on a set of photographs taken by Janette Deacon in 1999 attributed to a site called 'Grand View' (SARADA site no. RSA-PLX1), I thought I may have found it. Its location is consistent with the route Barrow followed leaving Graaff-Reinet in a north-westerly direction towards the Sneeuwberg. Painted detail includes many of the listed features such as zebra (including one with faded stripes that looks like a quagga), eland, springbok and gemsbok, as well as monochrome brown/black animals in a more caricatural style, and rows of crosses, circles and lines. An attempt to visit the site in April 2010 revealed, however, that the photographs came from at least four different shelters. The single archival site identity may be due to the mistaken labelling of the original slides (Janette Deacon pers. comm. 2011). In the course of these field explorations we also visited several other small shelters not depicted in Deacon's photographs, containing either assorted animal figures of similar species or geometric crosses, but were unable to locate a shelter with both animals and geometrics. Another possibility is that Barrow conflated several different sites in his description.

We ſtill continued our ſearch in the kloofs of the mountains, in the hope of meeting with the figure of the unicorn, the peaſantry being equally ſanguine to convince me of the truth of their aſſertions as I was to gratify curioſity. We came, at length, to a very high and concealed kloof, at the head of which was a deep cave covered in front by thick ſhrubbery. One of the party mounted up the ſteep aſcent, and having made his way through the cloſe bruſhwood, he gave us notice that the ſides of the cavern were covered with drawings. After clearing away the buſhes to let in the light, and examining the numerous drawings, ſome of which were tolerably well executed, and others caricatures, part of a figure was diſcovered

that was certainly intended as the repreſentation of a beaſt with a ſingle horn projecting from the forehead. Of that part of it which diſtinctly appeared, the following is a *fac ſimile.*

Fig. 1.2.2. SECOND EXCERPT FROM SIR J. BARROW'S ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS INTO THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (1801: 312-313).

very high and concealed kloof" part of a figure "that was certainly intended as the representation of a beast with a single horn projecting from the forehead" (1801: 312-313; **Fig. 1.2.2**).

It is likely that Barrow saw an image of an animal with one apparent horn and interpreted his 'vision' as a unicorn. He seems to suggest that the depiction was not very clear (or that it was incomplete), yet the published line drawing is quite unequivocally not only a unicorn, but a conventional depiction of this mythical animal. Of course we do not know what the original painting or the field copy looked like, or what processes of translation it underwent before appearing in print, if indeed such a sketch was ever made. The unicorn does not look like a Bushman rock painting at all, and the figure could feasibly have been drawn by an artist who was not even on the expedition for the requirements of publication, copying from elsewhere or from memories of European pictures of unicorns. However this image came into existence, it is credited as being the "first copy of African rock art to be published", although it cannot have been a very accurate one (Bahn 1998: 25).

And yet there was for Barrow a fundamental naturalistic link between what was depicted in the paintings and the natural world. Once he had interpreted the unicorn he so desired to see, it was unmistakable: a solid reality. The recognizability of natural animal species in the rock paintings had convinced Barrow of the talent of the painters, and inversely the fact they had depicted a unicorn was virtually enough to convince him that such a creature existed:

> Imperfect as the figure was, it was sufficient to convince me that the Bosjesmans are in the practice of including, among their representations of animals, that of an unicorn; and it also offered a strong argument for the existence of a living original. Among the several thousand figures of animals that, in the course of the journey, we had met with, none had the appearance of being monstrous, none that could be considered as works of the imagination, "creatures of the brain"; on the contrary, they were generally as faithful representations of nature as the talents of the artists would allow (1801: 313-14).

He felt that the unicorn, "as it is represented in Europe, is unquestionably a work of fancy; but it does not follow from thence that a quadruped with one horn … should not exist" (1801: 314). As Barrow's long and detailed account of his travels shows, the paintings were only a marginal interest. The hunt for a unicorn may even have been part of his official brief (Knox-Shaw 1997: 20). In the decades that followed Barrow's influential book, the association of the unicorn with the South African interior was "real and earnest" (ibid.: 18). Ouzman (2010a: 11) points out that the painter and traveller Thomas Baines also sought to find a representation of a unicorn fifty years later. Baines too appreciated the apparently documentary qualities of the rock paintings, although his approach was more circumspect:

> Among the most prominent were the buffalo, cameleopard, hartebeest, and a thing that by a stretch of imagination might be fancied into a unicorn, but I could find no decided representation of one, and considering the accuracy with which all other animals are drawn I should like to see something less equivocal before I assert on my own authority that the unicorn is painted in the Bushman's cave. A clear delineation of a one-horned animal on one of these rocks would be a strong confirmation of the existence of such a creature, for they give every two-horned animal two horns (Kennedy 1961: 167).

Even for those who do not believe in unicorns, rock painted figures sometimes look like one-horned creatures. This can occur quite easily when, for example, partial preservation in depictions of animals such as eland or gemsbok makes one horn vanish; a horn could also be hidden behind another by an effect of perspective (cf. Knox-Shaw 1997: 20). The figure may also have been

the painting of a rhino, although these animals are very rare in rock paintings (more frequently occurring as rock engravings; Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012). Barrow did not see a whole unicorn figure, only the neck and head:

> The body and legs had been erased to give place to the figure of an elephant that stood directly before it. Nothing could be more mortifying than such an accident; but the peasantry, who could form no idea of the consequence I attached to the drawing of such an animal, seemed to enjoy my chagrin (1801: 313).

Any number of combinations of partially preserved figurative elements in a rock painting can be reread any number of ways, depending on the desires and references of the spectator. Further, as Knox-Shaw (1997: 20) also mentions, elements the spectator does not recognize are not always read as part of the image. He suggests, for example, that "non-real" elements such as the thin red lines that have been interpreted as denoting the transfer of magic potency between human and animal forms (Lewis-Williams 1981b), were ignored by nineteenth-century copyists. They did not see them because they did not understand them. He states that "nineteenth-century copyists are far from reliable, mainly for the reason that their realist expectations made them careless to much that we are now alert to" (ibid.). Still, it is important to distinguish innocent imagination from faking, because Barrow may have recorded something he truly believed was there; he may have been tricked by his own expectations, and his intent may not have been to deceive. (This could also apply to others accused of 'fakes' such as George Stow with his blue ostriches (Dowson et al. 1994; Prins 2005; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2008; Skotnes 2008: 15, 18).) This could be argued, following Dawkins (2006: 112-117) to reflect a universal tendency for people to reorganize images, especially unclear or unfamiliar ones, into something that is more recognizable; the human brain is exceptionally good at constructing visual models.

Knox-Shaw calls attention to the vagueness of the location of the site Barrow describes, and suggests this may give grounds for some to suspect that he actually 'faked' the discovery of the painted unicorn. Indeed, he may have faked the painting or he may have invented the whole site, but his description of its locality is not any more vague than that of two other rock painting sites he describes in some detail.

While Barrow's site may have been real but remains unidentified, for an early example of a copy of a rock painting that can be matched to a physical location, we jump some years further ahead into the nineteenth century.

MAJOR MICHELL'S FAITHFUL COPIES

British officer and writer-explorer Sir James Edward Alexander (b.1803–d.1885) reported on paintings observed in the districts of Uitenhage and George in his narrative of a "campaign in Kaffir-land" (Alexander 1837: 314-17). In this publication he included three colour engravings derived from "faithful copies" produced by his father-in-law, Charles Collier Michell (b.1793–d.1851). Michell was the first surveyor-general and civil engineer of the Cape Colony and left traces of his life's activities behind in the form of a rich archive of notebooks and journals, as well as numerous watercolours and sketches (Richings 2006). His field copies of the rock imagery "executed by the former occupiers of the country" were, according to Alexander, "faithful copies of all these drawings, such as still remain uninjured by time and the weather, by which great numbers have been almost

Fig. 1.2.3. T. DOWSON'S 1988 REDRAWING OF THE EZELJAGDSPOORT GROUP. Object/image: RARI (SARADA: RSA-EZE1-1R).

entirely effaced", and the rusty reddish colours are claimed to be precisely the same as the colours of the rock drawings (1837: 314-15). Richings indicates that the whereabouts of Michell's original field copies, after which these plates were engraved, are unknown, precluding a closer comparison of the two translations (Richings 2006: 50-2).

The monochrome figures depicted in these plates come from three different sites, one of which is located in a narrow gorge of the Brak River in the vicinity of Oudtshoorn, presently known as Ezeljagspoort.[13] The copied rock picture from this site comprises a circular area delineated by a wavy line and a row of human figures with wing- or fin-like limbs that appear to be gliding (Alexander 1837: pl. III; Lewis-Williams 1990b: 8, 45; Hollmann 2005: fig.3; **Plate 1.2.3**).

In the centre of the group, other similar figures stand, float or gesticulate holding linear objects. About this picture Alexander wrote,

> We are unable to assist the reader, even by a conjecture, in elucidating the meaning of that which he here sees represented: but it may, perhaps, have allusion to the amphibious nature attributed to the whites by the natives in the olden day (1837: 317).

The group has been studied by numerous subsequent visitors to the site and its "successive interpretations illustrate the ways in which our knowledge of San rock art has developed over the years" (Lewis-Williams 1990b: 8). After Alexander, interpretations continued in the amphibious vein and the figures were in one instance described as "fish-like up to the waist and human above, reminiscent of mer-people of European folklore" (Willcox 1963: pl. 11) and this type of hybrid figure (also recorded at other shelters) is still familiarly referred to as a mermaid (e.g. Hollmann 2005: 25). More recently, fins have been read alternatively as wings and the creatures' movement as flying rather than floating, as with recourse to ethnography they have been interpreted as shamans who can embody or be embodied by swallows, animals that are related to rain and, ritually, rainmaking (Lewis-Williams 1990b: 8, 44-7). In a closer analysis that combines natural modelling with ethnographic interpretation, Hollmann (2005) has identified them as possible swift-people, ritual practitioners who, through a correspondence between the birds' behaviour and aspects of San ritual, are symbolically related to healing activities and interactions with the spirit realm.

In 1988 Thomas Dowson created another version of this painting by tracing and redrawing into black ink (**Fig. 1.2.3**). Lewis-Williams (1990b: 44) explains that Michell's version is less accurate than the modern one because he missed certain features, or did not record them in detail, features that are highly significant for current researchers' ethnographically informed interpretations of the imagery. The omitted features include three dots on the lower right side of the group and several lines, including a wavy one, and he argues that these abstract forms are to be interpreted as entoptics, universal optical responses of the nervous system deriving from hallucination. While we do not know what their appearance was when Michell copied them, in more recent times these features appear more faded than other figures (**Plate 1.2.4**) and are less likely to be picked up as part of the painted configuration by the less observant spectator because they fade towards the natural (cf. Lewis-Williams 1990b: 59). Even so, I concur with Richings' (2006: 50) assessment of its "essential accuracy" for the purposes of modern-day

[13] SARADA site number RSA EZE1.

interpretations.[14] It too presents the painted figures like shadows projected onto a smooth plane, and although it was not traced, comprises many of the same figural iconographic components. While some details are indeed absent, Michell did capture one of the wavy lines and the absence of the other lines and dots in his copy does not affect the central interpretation of the scene as symbolising a shamanistic rain-related activity. Moreover, while I do not deny the possibility of rock paintings' incorporating graphic elements that derive from hallucinations, the identification in this case of simple spots and lines as entoptics seems tenuous. Judging from the photograph of the panel, the boundary between the figural and non-figural is not obvious (and does not simply correspond to the distinction between painted and non-painted) and I would be wary of classifying certain more ambiguous features one way or the other (whether painted or natural). For lack of a more appropriate word, I often refer to a cluster or stretch of rock art figures as a 'panel', but I reject any bounded, flat or rectangular connotations that this word may carry. I use this term rather in the sense of a visibly distinct portion of a painted rock surface, which may be delineated by a natural break in the rock, but it does not ever imply that the perceived extent of a painted surface corresponds with the original intention or perception of the rock painter. Likewise, my use of the word 'composition' has to do with a perceived unity or logic that does not necessarily have to do with the original painters' notions of pictorial cohesion.[15] In the case of the Ezeljagspoort group, one has the impression that in places the figures of this group fade almost seamlessly into the non-figural patterns and colorations of the natural surface that the rock painter chose as his canvas, and it is therefore just as plausible that the lines and dots might depict something scenic or physical, for example marking some kind of boundary. Michell may have interpreted the upper wavy line as an arc that forms a frame, possibly influencing his choice of composition. It can be compared with the wavy line delineating the upper edge of the Sehonghong rainmaking scene dealt with in chapter 2, although in this second case the line also corresponds with a physical break in the rock (**Fig. 2.3**).

Michell's copy demonstrates an openness and interpretive restraint in relation to unfamiliar imagery, unusual in the times in which he lived. His copy can compete with the accuracy of modern redrawn versions for a figural iconographic analysis. Furthermore, it embodies a concern for colour and the "rust of iron" that the pigments were thought to be derived from (Alexander 1837: 315) and is in this regard more accurate than the modern tracing. The photograph shows that the pigment used to depict these figures on the rock is similar to natural reddish colorations (and other faded paintings) across this stretch of rock. In an otherwise relatively colourless sandstone setting, the painters' selection of this red-tinted patch to repeatedly place their figures points to the significance of the colour red and the embeddedness and repetitiveness of the rock painters'

[14] An earlier (1835) copy (Richings 2006: fig.11) includes extra lines, including a wavy one, in the right margins of this composition that were omitted in its translation to a lithographic engraving.

[15] I acknowledge that art-historical terms such as 'composition', 'panel', 'picture' or 'canvas' might be seen here as problematic because associated with the study of the Western tradition of frame paintings and thus with notions of flatness, rectangular boundaries and illusionistic effects, undoubtedly carrying little emic insight into San rock painting. While it is outside the scope of my study to speculate on San understandings of these issues, I reject the 'framed' connotations they may carry. In my usage these terms refer to painted figurative representations placed across a selected surface (canvas) that occur in clusters and configurations (composition), producing a pictorial focus on a rock formation (panel or picture). These can be argued to be deliberate by virtue of their stylistic unity, contiguous placements or superpositioning, as well as by stylistic congruence.

practice. Kevin Crause's recording of this panel using his CPED technique has revealed numerous additional, in some cases almost invisible, figures underneath and surrounding, and arguably belonging to, this group (see back cover Vol. II).

BAINES AND SITE SPECIFICITY

John Thomas Baines (b.1820-d.1875) was a traveller and artist whose naïve, yet shrewd and perceptive illustrations reflect various aspects of life in southern Africa in the mid-1800s. He produced thousands of sketches, watercolours and oil paintings of landscapes, people, historic events and scientific subjects (Carruthers & Arnold 1995). Of his *oeuvre,* Ouzman (2010a: 11) concludes that fewer than a dozen images and diary entries relate to southern Africa's San, and several pertain to their rock art. Baines's diary from 1842 to 1853 (Kennedy 1961, 1964) refers to his having produced sketches at least at four separate sites. It is not known whether the multiple sketches produced at one of the sites (described in Kennedy 1961: 167) still exist while another site that is the subject of a known oil painting (Kennedy 1961: 189, 232) has to my knowledge not been identified in the physical landscape (**Plate 1.2.5**). Sheila Bell-Cross and Jim Feely identified one of the two remaining sites, and Johan Loock identified the final one (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012; Ouzman 2001, 2010a). The first of these is an 1849 oil painting titled "Bushman's Krantz, Baviaans River, Animals painted on the rock by the Bushman. Much visited by the Poet Pringle" (**Plate 1.2.6**).

It is a portrayal of a site of rock paintings located on the Pringle family's farm Eildon (Bedford district, Eastern Cape). Baines's piece depicts an irregular stretch of rock wall painted with a variety of figures, including antelope and people, as well as more abstract star shapes and dots. In the foreground, Baines has autobiographically inserted himself in a sketching pose on the left beside an unidentified sleeping companion. High up on the rock above the paintings can be read the inscription, "T Pringle 1825". In the oil painting (and not at the actual site) Baines has placed his own signature as it if were actually inscribed on a conveniently located rock projecting into the picture in the lower right corner.

Ouzman (2010a: 14) points out a small but puzzling inconsistency by which Baines's annotation on the canvas records 26 January as the day of the sketch, but that the visit to the site is recorded under 25 January in his diary. This might be explained by the possibility that the sketch was created from memory after the visit. The signature at the lower right corner of the canvas indicates a date of March 12 1849, pointing to the fact that it was produced at a later time away from the site. In its details it is not an accurate portrayal of this particular place, although Baines successfully creates a reasonable impression of it, a flat patch of ground with grass next to an uneven but vertical rock wall (not an overhang) across which rock painted figures are framed in a number of natural subdivisions of the rock face. Unlike the graphic copies considered up until now, this imagery is not the main pictorial subject of Baines's artwork. The figures are anecdotal, caricatural and cartoonish, included as part of the background setting of his picture.

Ouzman (2010a: 11) characterizes Baines as "a product of expansionist colonial times", unimpressed by hunter-gatherer art which he considered "debased". Baines did not credit the Bushmen with much artistic talent due to what he judged to be poor technique and a style that was intermittently grotesque and non-naturalistic:

> The works of the aboriginal artists, which covered the face of the cliff to an average height of five feet above the ground, comprised rude but recognisable delineations of the rhinoceros, hartebeest, giraffe, eland, koodoo, the domestic ox and other animals, with grotesque representations of men engaged in chase or war, as well as many in which it was impossible to trace a resemblance to any living creature whatever. The pigments appeared to consist of red, yellow and white earths and charcoal, mixed as an old Hottentot informed me, with fat, which indinated [inundated?] by the scorching sun, rendered them indelible; and laid on without the slightest attempt at shadow, blending, or perspective, with feathers of different sizes" (Kennedy 1961: 116).

While, as Ouzman suggests, the poet Thomas Pringle (1789–1834), was clearly paying "homage to the spirit of the painters previous" in inscribing his name above these rock painted figures (2010a: 13), Baines did not appreciate the role the imagery played in making this one of the "spots hallowed" by Pringle's poetry (Kennedy 1961: 115). [16] The rock painting was for Baines an anecdotal feature of a backdrop that served primarily to support the portrayal of what really interested him at Baviaans Krantz: the signature of his literary hero Pringle.

While Baines may not have had much respect for the Bushmen's artistic abilities, he nonetheless portrayed the paintings as an integral part of the setting, situating them in relation to other historic inscriptions on the landscape. Indeed, Baines's oil painting captures something specific enough about the original site for it to be locatable in the landscape over a century and a half later (albeit with the aid of supporting documentation). To my knowledge, his artworks have not been studied by rock art researchers other than Ouzman and this is probably because they do not focus closely on the painted motifs, being more concerned with creating an impression of the sites as atmospheric places of spatial and scenic significance.

Another of Baines's pieces, an 1851 sketch titled 'Cave – Mahouri's people', is accurate enough to have been executed on the spot (**Plate 1.2.7**). Ever interested in the overlay of different kinds of markings left on the landscape, Ouzman set out with his team of rock art detectives to locate the physical place depicted in this sketch. Because Baines was a "meticulous diarist" and used a trochometer, the team knew to search in an area north of Smithfield, and after three years of research, they eventually located the site about 30km south-east of Reddersburg in the southern Free State.

The sketch portrays a low-ceilinged shelter[17] and demonstrates Baines's gift for "capturing the essential elements of a place" (Ouzman 2002: 6). The focal subject of the drawing is a group of people having breakfast inside the shelter and while Baines did not portray the paintings here, he noted in his diary that it was part of a cluster of caves that was formerly "the haunt of wild Bushmen" (Kennedy 1961: 29 quoted by Ouzman 2002: 6). Baines scrambled to another shelter further up where he observed drawings of different animals, including a black rhinoceros.[18] Of the latter animal he made a good sketch but unfortunately it was in a sketchbook that subsequently went missing.

[16] Quoted by Ouzman in a previous version of his graffiti paper presented at the Literature and Ecology Colloquium, Grahamstown, 2006.

[17] SARADA site number RSA KIH1.

[18] SARADA site number RSA VAH1.

Ouzman summarizes the interest in matching up historical copies with existing physical sites:

> Looking for "lost" rock art sites is not just for the thrill of (re)discovery. We also gain valuable information about factors affecting preservation. … We also learn of colonial attitudes towards the Bushmen and rock art. It is perhaps appropriate that the first non-Bushman to copy Free State rock art was himself an artist [Baines] and we could do worse than to heed his dictum – "I am simply an artist telling what I have seen as truthfully as I know it" (2002: 7).

MOTIFS FLOATING OVER THE LANDSCAPE

The texts and images discussed in this section show that rock paintings were first copied as a peripheral interest of early explorers of the South African interior, often as a derivative of landscape representations or scientific surveys of the natural world. This interest moved steadily eastward as the ever-shifting frontier of the Cape Colony advanced in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Written references are few and far between and visual sources are even more rare but they were produced through a variety of techniques accompanying diverse attitudes towards the Bushmen and their painted artworks. Many of the early copies cannot be matched up with physical sites, but when they can be, we can also learn about the positions of the copies as visual interpretations.

The usefulness of trying to view rock art through the lenses of the colonial frontier lies in the fact that, as Davis points out, "[d]espite their ephemerality, the earliest exploratory reports set the tone for later work" (1990: 271). What all accounts have in common is that they refer to the rock painted imagery as "art":

> Whether regarded as 'primitive' or surprisingly accomplished … most images were evaluated qualitatively in European aesthetic terms. Reflecting the conventions of western art, observers singled out the purely graphic and compositional features of individual striking images and copied them as self-sufficient wholes (Davis 1990: 271).

In this period we see different tendencies in the verbal explanations that accompany the paintings, ranging from visual description to aesthetic judgment to mythical interpretation. Graphically, however, most of the early copies treat the painted imagery in the same way: as if it were made up of discrete iconographic motifs that can be lifted from their canvas and transposed onto a reproducible rectangular medium without affecting what the paintings might mean or represent, or simply what the paintings might 'be'.

Another constant theme is a belief that the paintings are primarily imitative and correspondingly there is a clear interest in the naturalism of the depicted animal species. Barrow's unicorn, the earliest published putative rock painting, is evidently the product of a European mythological overlay of interpretation, but in its time was taken to be a strong argument for the existence of the one-horned quadruped in the South African interior.

1.3

Early copies in the Maloti-Drakensberg (second half of the nineteenth century)

THE LAST MOUNTAIN FRONTIER

By the mid-nineteenth century, European colonists were encroaching on the Maloti-Drakensberg massif from all sides. The eastern frontier of the Cape Colony had continued to advance in grand strides from the west. Beyond its borders to the north-east, a new country was founded, initially named the Orange River Sovereignty (1848-1854), and becoming the Orange Free State a short time later (now the province of the Free State). The Natalia Republic (1839-1843), soon to become the British Colony of Natal, formed to the east across the undulating landscape that sloped down from the highest and most sheer face of the Drakensberg escarpment (in what is now KwaZulu-Natal; **Map 3**).

The natural barrier formed by the high Maloti-Drakensberg was one of the last frontiers the colonists would finally breach. In addition to the difficulties presented by the countryside itself with its steep valleys and rocky escarpments, the mountainous landscape offered retreat for those who continued to practise a nomadic foraging way of life. The mountain territory of Basutoland was another land-locked entity that was materializing over the highest part of the massif. Declared a British crown colony in 1884, it was only in the late nineteenth century that the Maloti mountains passed "from being a last refuge of independent hunter-gatherer communities to one of the last regions of southern Africa settled by Bantu-speaking agriculturalists" (Mitchell & Challis 2008: 400). The wild herds of eland were replaced with herds of cattle, disrupting the hunting, gathering and painting (Nettleton 1985: 52). Hunter-gatherers entered into contact with people accompanied by domestic stock and crops around two thousand years ago, and the shifting nature of their relationships with these "Iron Age" groups before the Europeans arrived is the subject of ongoing enquiry (e.g. Whitelaw 2009). But during the nineteenth century, Bushmen, who still survived in the area, were faced with a more invasive presence than they had experienced up until that time. These "larger, stronger, and more impersonal states" included more prominent and centralized African polities (Wright 1971: 17). It was a time of turmoil characterized by movements of people across the landscape, and frontier disputes and negotiations on all sides, including heavy and violent conflict between European colonists, African farmers and Bushmen, particularly well documented on the Natal side (Wright 1971; Vinnicombe 2009: ch. 2).

Writing a balanced history of the terminal hunter-gatherer presence in the Maloti-Drakensberg presents difficulties because, although the high land is unified as a landscape in its altitude and brokenness, it became surrounded almost as an island and slowly fragmented geopolitically on all sides (**Plate 1.3.1**). The late nineteenth century was a time of transition from a living painting

culture to a dead one, from originals to copies, from paintings to attempts to explain them, and from a world in which the art was created by and for members of hunter-gatherer communities to one where it was viewed by outsiders as an enigmatic trace of a lost way of life. In tragic colonial irony, the most informed producers and viewers of the art were being eliminated or assimilated into encroaching societies with different ways of life.

Mitchell (2009: 111) observes that due to the nature of the historical sources at our disposal, and contemporary political, logistical and funding issues, among other factors, archaeological research has been and seemingly remains impeded by modern geopolitical boundaries despite a general awareness of this problem. Norman Etherington (2001: 5) proposes adopting a bird's-eye view of the landscape in order to challenge the usual historical perspectives that are born from the predominantly colonial sources for history, but the eagle's eye view of the hunter-gatherer history of the Maloti-Drakensberg is still lacking (but see Mitchell 2009). Because I am tracking a tradition of scholarship, there is an emphasis in the material I deal with on (KwaZulu-) Natal, where most San rock art research has been carried out. I elaborate on examples provided in various overviews of early rock art research in this area and time period (e.g. Vinnicombe 1966; Pager 1971: 32; Willcox 1975; Vinnicombe 2009: 108-125; Lewis-Williams 1981a: 15-24; Hobart 2009) and I attempt wherever possible to introduce links to what was happening in other parts of the Maloti-Drakensberg.

A PICTORIAL TURN

The earliest known historical image of the Drakensberg mountains from the eastern side is one of Allen Gardiner's plates drawn after an in situ sketch of the Giant's Cup (now known as Hodgson's Peaks) in 1835 (Gardiner 1836: betw. pp. 334-5; **Plate 1.3.2, 1.3.3**).

Gardiner was one of the first European explorers on the east side of the mountain block to record observations in writing and drawing. He did not record any rock paintings during his expedition, but unwittingly included a rock painting site within the scenery captured in his picture: the free-standing boulder adjacent to his camp is a site now known as Boundary Rock (Vinnicombe 2009: 14, 16, 310).[1] We do not know whether he knew about the paintings in the area but he discovered possible traces of Bushmen in the landscape, such as footprints and deliberately burnt grassland (ibid.: 14). The Bushmen, for their part, may have been watching his progress.

On nearby Bamboo Mountain, along the foot of which Gardiner's expedition passed, there is a rock art site[2] that contains painted imagery portraying a wagon pulled by a trek ox, mounted colonial figures with brimmed hats and firearms, and a group of cattle being driven from the rear, "just such a scene as Gardiner's cavalcade must have presented" (Vinnicombe 2009: 14). Gardiner's plate, accompanied by Vinnicombe's historical contextualization of it, unwittingly encapsulates the notion of a pictorial turn, the shift from one picture-making tradition to another: in the time when European travellers began to document and create images on paper of the Drakensberg, the last painters recorded the appearance of these foreign visitors in their territory.

[1] NSN: 2929CB 040.

[2] NSN: 2929CB 045 (Bamboo Mountain 5).

As was the case on the frontier of the Cape Colony, there was little initial interest in Bushman art or culture among these colonisers. As far as we know, Drakensberg rock paintings were first copied several decades after Gardiner's trek.

MONCRIEFF'S ISOLATED COPY

Colonel Alexander Moncrieff (b.1829-d.1906) of the British Royal Artillery made the earliest-known copies, in 1863, of rock paintings somewhere south of the Bushman's River. The copies are listed in the 1869 inventory of the Christy Collection in the British Museum as follows:

> Presented by Gen. Lefroy. Copies of Bushmen paintings from Natal frontier. S. of Bushman's river, made by Col. A. Moncrieff (Vinnicombe 2009: 111).

For a long time these copies were missing (ibid.). The online British Museum database currently indicates they had never been included in the Christy inventory at the time of acquisition and that, in 1979, they were retrieved and registered as part of the "found un-numbered" collection.[3] How the copies came to be part of the Lefroy donation is unknown.

Despite the inventory reference to 'copies', Moncrieff's work consists of only one sheet of paper depicting a number of animal and human figures in ink and colour washes (**Plate 1.3.4**). Whether Moncrieff produced other copies is unknown but it appears as though it was an isolated product. Across the top of the page Moncrieff wrote:

> Drawings on the rock walls of a Bushmans cave in the mountains on the frontier of Natal south of Bushmans river South Africa carefully drawn and coloured on a reduced scale on the spot in June 1863 by A. Moncrieff.

The location "south of the Bushman's river" is vague and I have been unable to identify Moncrieff's cave. There are only a few references to Alexander Moncrieff in Natal during the year 1863 and to his younger brother Robert Hope Moncrieff (b.1841-d.?1863). On 21 February 1863, John Sheddon Dobie was on a farm somewhere outside Pietermaritzburg and wrote in his journal that he

> found two swells had arrived—a Mr. Cole and Capt. Moncrieff, both very good fellows, latter a fellow-officer with Neil Kennedy in R.M. Artillery. Has bought a farm for a younger brother up Bushman's river way near Berg, and come to look at sheep here (Hattersley 1945: 69).

In April 1863, Dobie visited Robert Hope at Kilfargie and described how he found him living in relative poverty in a "primitive kaffir hut", having settled there two months prior (Hattersley 1945: 77). Two months later (in June) Colonel Alexander Moncrieff was visiting the area and produced his copy at the site "south of the Bushman's River". In terms of establishing his interest or motivation, there is really very little to go on. He appears to have been in Natal for recreation and departed after a short stay to continue his cosmopolitan career elsewhere, but his life was more than just military. He was also an amateur artist and exhibited at the Scottish Academy (Lloyd & Jones 2006) and an interest in archaeology may have been a theme that ran through his life (Hutcheson 1904).[4]

[3] The British Museum collection database online (last viewed June 5 2009): http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx/

[4] Shortly before Christmas 1863 Robert Hope was journeying on horseback up the Sungabala Pass, a passage through the Drakensberg escarpment about 5km north of the present-day Royal Natal National Park. Near the crest of the pass, he was attacked by four Amangwane tribesmen, one of which was a son of Chief Zikhali, Matiwane's son, and murdered (Hattersley 1945: n104). Another source lists his death in 1866 (Seton 1890: 119).

The characters in his copy include relatively 'ordinary' figures, including reddish-brown monochrome human figures in different postures such as walking and wielding weapons, with one lying on its back with its legs up in the air. The animal figures include cattle and antelope, all walking in profile except for one that is lying on the ground with its legs tucked under its body. The quadrupeds are mostly depicted in two colours, and the originals may have been shaded bichrome.

Several figures are more unusual in appearance, and might prove diagnostic for the site's identification. One monochrome quadruped is reminiscent of painted animal subjects pulled on ropes that have elsewhere been interpreted as "rain animals" (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 98-9). There is a spotted, possibly feline, figure beside another shape that looks like a splayed-open pelt of the same species. Next to a stick or line, a hybrid creature (like a cross between a person and a hippo) is sitting with short, skinny legs sticking out in front of it. It has a round face and thick body, with an arrow-shaped hat or headdress.

It would of course be possible to assess Moncrieff's position as a copyist more closely if we could consider his copy alongside the original paintings. We can nevertheless say something about the way he treated the paintings. He drew them in a schematic and caricatural style, and he rearranged the figures into the five hieroglyph-like rows, grouping figures of similar heights together and arranging them horizontally one after the other like a sequence of ciphers or text characters. The extent to which the figures have been rearranged is open to speculation, but the composition of Moncrieff's drawing does not correspond with the way rock paintings are typically articulated across a rock surface. They look more like the ciphers on a rune than a Bushman painting, a set of discrete iconographic units or stand-alone symbols, hence the notion that this sheet comprised a number of "copies". The plural inventory title of this piece also suggests a concept different from 'painting' in the Western tradition denoting a picture that fills the field of a canvas. On the actual drawing, Moncrieff wrote the descriptor "drawings" and this word also does not carry a strong connotation of continuous pictorial field. This plurality could be ascribed to the fact one can place several drawings on a sheet of paper, perhaps because they are generally produced in a dry medium such as pencil or charcoal and do not always fill the field provided by the support, defined as they are more in terms of contours and shadows against a background of "negative" space. Nevertheless in both cases, the individual figures are considered to be the basic unit of representation.

Several of the figures do, however, appear scenically related to one another, interacting as if engaged in a group activity or event. An example of this from the middle row is the walking figure wielding a stick or spear that is touching the tail of the cow (or eland) walking in front of him. Moncrieff's figures are schematic but plausible, despite the fact that the imagery must have been very unfamiliar to him. They are less modified than several of the works I discuss later that at times view the paintings distorted through a lens of Western-style costumes and attitudes.

GEORGE STOW, A FIRST RECORDER OF ROCK ART

The well-known pioneer recorder of rock paintings, George William Stow (b.1822–d.1882), lived on a farm on the Klaas Smit River (Cradock district, located in what is now the Eastern Cape) and surveyed the rocky crags of the landscape around him for paintings which he knew to have been produced by the Bushmen. He was not active primarily within the Maloti-Drakensberg proper, but explored a wide area covering the foothills to the north and west sides well below the high mountains, in what is now the eastern part of the Eastern Cape, eastern and southern Free State

and Lesotho. I have included him here as a bridge between this chapter and the previous one, between the wider region and the high Maloti-Drakensberg, and between the age of isolated copies and that of more organized recording campaigns. John Dobie spoke about Stow as a rock art guide:

> On a journey from Tarkastad towards Cradock, Mr. Stow showed us in one of the gorges where the trap rock was piled up in very heavy masses, forming cave-like recesses, some of the Bushmen's paintings in black and red colour of men and animals supposed to represent Kafirs, oxen, hartebeest, and horses. This diminutive race were at one time numerous here, and this style of country was well suited for them. These paintings are what Fred is in the habit of sploring[5] about as showing wonderful talent, he having seen them on the Berg! Such things as children of three or four years old might daub! Strange however that the Kafir shows no talent whatever in this way. Awfully sorry I could not pull up to do at least one sketch (Hattersley 1945: 118).

This passage gives the impression that white settlers were by now quite familiar with the paintings and that making sketches of them was a fairly common practice. Many of Stow's drawings are undated but his earliest-known copies date to 1867 and he continued to produce copies for the rest of his life (Stow & Bleek 1930: xxv). In 1870 Stow wrote in a letter:

> During the last three years I have been making pilgrimages to the various old Bushman caves among the mountains in this part of the Colony and Kaffraria; and, as their paintings are becoming obliterated very fast, it struck me that that it would be well to make copies of them before these interesting relics of an almost extinct race are entirely destroyed … I have fortunately been able to procure many fac-simile copies of hunting scenes, dances, fightings, &c., showing the modes of warfare, the chase, weapons, disguises, &c. (Jones 1870).

Stow can be credited as the first to copy southern African rock art with a modern impulse of curation, motivated by the task of creating a comprehensive documentary record of a disappearing resource in order for it to be preserved for posterity. In the final decades of a living Bushman presence, he was, perhaps more than earlier creators of copies, acutely aware of the hunter-gatherers' vulnerability in the face of the more populous farming communities advancing with determination throughout the region. His *oeuvre* could easily have been lost but it was sold by his widow into the capable hands of Lucy Lloyd and published in part some years later (Stow & Bleek 1930; other works such as those by Rosenthal and Goodwin (1953) and Rudner and Rudner (1970) contain smaller selections). The original Stow material has survived into the present in several archives (Skotnes 2008: 21). Stow also encouraged others to record paintings, including Joseph Millerd Orpen (1874: 1; Ch. 2).

Stow was also the first recorder to bring an ethnographic perspective to attempts to understand the paintings (Willcox 1975: 3), taking "pains to interview people who might have had some first-hand knowledge of the paintings he copied" (Skotnes 2008: 12). His work is well known among rock art researchers; Neil Lee and Bert Woodhouse began relocating Stow's sites in the 1960s and more recently, David Lewis-Williams and Sam Challis have worked on the Stow archive, and in particular his copies that Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd's /Xam teachers commented on (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012). Some of the attention he has attracted has been quite negative, even involving accusations of forgery (for a discussion of the *cause célèbre* of the blue ostriches, see Dowson et al. 1994; Prins 2005; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2008; Skotnes 2008: 15, 18). Nonetheless, his work still holds untapped potential for rock art research, and recently Pippa Skotnes (2008) shone new light onto the Stow archive, examining his rock art copies in their historical context and in

[5] To splore is a Scottish expression meaning "to tell boastful stories about" (Hattersley 1945: 115).

the context of his life, and as a body of artistic work to be appreciated in its own right.[6] Skotnes is clear that it is "not [her] intention to argue the merits or failings of various interpretations of the paintings of the San", and she does not see the study of "these copies as a way to understand the originals [having] refrained from offering extemporised interpretations or providing [her] own explanations for the subject matter" (ibid.: 19-20). For her, "George Stow's paintings should be seen as his interpretations of rock art, rather than facsimiles of the art itself or a neutral act of copying" (ibid.: 13). One of her interests is to

> draw attention to the many ways in which the rock paintings of the San have been translated. This is not an exercise in interpretation, but an attempt to reveal that the act of translation itself is an interpretation. To this end care has been taken to present the copies as they were framed, paying attention to the paper use, the edges of each sheet, the ways in which images were composed by the copyist. ... the style and method of the copyist—his or her own 'hand' ... (Skotnes 2010: 25).

Comparisons with the originals will, however, bring the 'translations' into clearer focus and such work will be facilitated by the now increased accessibility of Stow's work. Stow was just as concerned with composing his own sheets of paper as he was with copying the paintings, so he habitually distorted the "spatial and scale relationships between the elements he saw on the rocks" (Skotnes 2008: 13). His copy of a panel from a site he called "rocks at the Lower Imvani" near Tylden (Queenstown district, Eastern Cape)[7] provides a good example of his style (ibid.: 86; **Plate 1.3.5**).

On the original painted panel are several irregular rows of rounded oblong shapes which curve up and down, articulated across the natural breaks and waves in the stone surface. These oval shapes are worn in several instances by human figures and can be read as a kind of cloak or kaross motif. Although not all the shapes appear to have limbs or heads, they are nonetheless interpreted as rows of "torsos of seated human figures"[8] fading to either side into more indeterminate shapes. Stow sensitively represented their various shades of yellow ranging from pale whitish-yellow to dirtier and darker ochreous tones but formally, he standardized them into three straight, almost military rows of shield-shaped motifs of regular size and interval. He included several anecdotal variations of these, depicting several with arms and legs standing up as if breaking their rank, a crouching figure hiding behind a 'shield' and several other figures that appear to be moving among these motifs or walking towards them. The other versions of this complex panel indicate that Stow left many other figures out of his copy, perhaps the ones that 'interfered' with the activity group he was able to make some sort of sense of. It is probably this anecdotal quality that inspired some to refer to his copies as "cartoons";[9] although earlier uses of this term did not have a connotation of humour and entertainment, they did denote simplification and exaggeration. Lewis-Williams (1990b: 7) characterizes Stow's interest as "narrative", because he believed they were pictures of the "manners and customs" of the Bushmen while Skotnes (2008: 21) calls Stow's copies "history paintings" because she sees them as "reflecting his desire to reveal the art as, at least in large part, a record of actual historical events and characters" and as an elegiac expression of the "discord of

[6] Skotnes curated an exhibition of Stow's work at the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town, in 2008.

[7] SSN: RSA TYL1.

[8] From the "brief site description" for TYL1 on the SARADA website (viewed 23 September 2011).

[9] For example, the SARADA web-page with background information on George Stow (viewed 23 September 2011). Van Riet Lowe also called his copies cartoons (e.g. SARADA: VRL-PWD-046).

the times in which he worked", but suggests Stow had other interests in the paintings, for example an interest in what he perceived to be magic and ritual themes (Stow & Bleek 1930: xiii-xiv quoted in Skotnes 2008: 15). He certainly had a penchant for scenes he perceived as depicting violence and conflict, reading them through narratives of colonists and other 'stronger' peoples overcoming the Bushmen, which lead him to over-represent these particular themes when there were arguably more visually striking clusters at the sites he recorded (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012). A better understanding of his thematic selectivity might be gleaned from a more comprehensive matching up of his copy archive with whatever is left of the painted originals in the landscape.

Skotnes (2008: 13) writes that although Stow aimed for what he felt was "the greatest possible truthfulness" in his copies, the "demand for fidelity to the original has more recently become so acute that by today's standards his attempts fall far short of anything that would qualify as 'accurate'". While Stow modified the composition as a whole, reorganizing figures and omitting some, his careful depiction at the level of individual figures is arguably more faithful (cf. Skotnes 2008: 13). Here too, though, not everything is 'correct' from better-informed contemporary points of view, for example we can now see that the figure he interpreted as a lion is in fact a 'headless' eland, where the differential preservation of pigments causes the eland motif to lose its head and thus its clear identity. Portrayed in a more friable white paint, the lower legs and neck and head disappear, leaving behind a 'lion-like' torso, more compact and with shorter, stockier legs. In this example, Stow's misinterpretation of the eland remnant as a lion is, however, more evident in his verbal descriptions than in his graphic rendering, because in his copy the figure is still a plausible eland, although he subtly accentuated the roundness of the shoulders and dewlap of the eland as the head of a lion.

Stow paid sensitive attention to colour, and also to the rendering of superposition of certain figures. In summary, Stow's copies are not without value in terms of the information they contain about the original parietal paintings, especially when examined in triangulation with other sources (manual copies, photographs and the originals, even in a damaged state). Stow's copies of the "battle scene" from Christol Cave played a key role in a recent study by Le Quellec et al. (2009) where it is clearly demonstrated that while copies can teach us about the history of interpretation, they also speak of the paintings themselves.

MAIN CAVES OF GIANT'S CASTLE: A FIRST SITE STUDY

One of the earliest 'gallery' sites to be known to the white settlers on the east side of the escarpment, Main Caves are a prominent cluster of sandstone shelters on a spur above the upper Bushmans River. Located in what is now Giant's Castle Nature Reserve, the "spectacular and world renowned" Main Caves rock paintings have been incorporated into an open-air museum constituting one of the few rock art sites in KwaZulu-Natal that is officially open to the public (Prins 1999). The feature, in reality three separate but adjoining rock-shelters known as North, South and South South Caves, shelters hundreds of individual painted figures and many complex scenes over sections of the rock walls and faces of detached rocks. An idea of the painted abundance can be gleaned from the over 1200 pictorial records created by visitors to the site over many years (mainly photographs) on SARADA.[10] The Bushmans River Valley leads up to the well-known Langalibalele Pass, a strategic passage over the high escarpment, and it may have been in the course of military patrols during

[10] Records for MAI1 last viewed 24 September 2011.

the 1850s that these caves were discovered. Prior to that time, the Little Berg—as the Drakensberg foothills below about 2000m are known—was still virtually unknown to whites occupying the lower-lying land (Wright 1971: 143).

The father-and-son team of Mark and Graham Hutchinson (b.+-1830-d.1908 and b.1860-d.1928 respectively) were settler farmers in Natal as well as talented artists in their spare time. In the 1870s, the Natal Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer encouraged them to copy rock paintings (Ward & Maggs 1994: 154) and they chose to document Main Caves.[11] Louis Edward Tylor (b.1861-d.1948) also produced copies there in 1893;[12] his endeavour may have been inspired by his uncle Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, anthropologist at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (Hobart et al. 2002: 66). Tylor noted that the caves were a point of attraction, but that visits remained rare because the railway was about 90km ("50 miles") away and the surrounding nature was relatively wild (Ward 1997: 80-1). The Main Caves paintings have continued to attract the attention of researchers (e.g. Willcox 1956: Pl. 27-31; Lewis-Williams 1981a: 71; Prins 1999; Russell 2000; Tournié et al. 2011).

Collectively these early copies of the Main Caves paintings constitute the first cumulative site-specific archive, but, naturally for such an abundantly painted site, the archive is highly selective. Confronted with the pictorial abundance and layeredness of this gallery of rock paintings, the copyists isolated certain figures and smaller groups from adjacent and overlapping ones. Limitations would have been dictated simply by the size of the paper at the copyists' disposal and the time factor. Several figures were copied by both the Hutchinsons and Tylor and it would have been surprising for there to be any overlap between the two campaigns, except for the fact that Tylor was familiar with the Hutchinsons' work and was in all likelihood inspired by their selections. These multiple episodes of copying enable a close comparative analysis. I select two examples.

A small composition copied by both Mark Hutchinson and Tylor comprises three antelope, two in foreshortened view from the rear and one in profile jumping across the right antelope (**Plate 1.3.6**). Mark Hutchinson possibly chose to copy these figures because of his interest in foreshortening (1883: 464), which has more generally been a source of fascination for Western viewers confronted with such rock paintings. He depicted the jumping antelope as if it was in the layer beneath the back legs of the standing antelope, as if it was jumping between its legs or colliding with it. Tylor, on the other hand, placed the leaping antelope in the foreground, showing how the order of superposition was not obvious even for a close observer. In a more recent photograph the relationship between the two figures still appears confusing; photographs can indeed be misleading for discerning this kind of subtlety. I have observed some situations where an older image was painted over and the preservation of the new figure is not as good within the zone of intersection between the two, as

[11] The Hutchinson archive consists of forty-six copies of paintings split between two institutions – KZNM (11) and NLSA (35). In an article that examines the copies as an indicator of rock art deterioration, Val Ward and Tim Maggs (1994) establish that most (probably all) originated at Main Caves. Not all of them carry a date but the Hutchinsons visited the caves on at least three occasions (Hutchinson 1883: 464), consistent with dates of 1876, 1877 and 1879. Two later copies are dated 1889 and may have been produced by Graham alone (Ward & Maggs 1994: 157).

[12] The Tylor archive (PRM) consists of eighty-five groups produced at nineteen sites during about a month spent in the mountains (Ward 1997). His copies are difficult to catalogue because at some stage they were cropped and reorganized into new compositions on stiff boards for the purposes of museum display, and may also be copies of copies (possibly deriving from missing field copies). Ward (1997) felt that her study had been hindered by the unavailability at that time of good reproductions of his works and there is currently a plan to have the Tylor copies professionally digitized (Jeremy Coote pers. comm. 2009).

new paint doesn't always stick to an already painted surface as well as it does to bare rock, making what survives to either side of the over-painted image to appear as though it is underneath; in other words, what is newer appears by perceptible stratigraphic order to be older. The Harris matrix analysis of Thembi Russell (2000: 62-3) suggests that the leaping antelope is actually the more recently painted figure (her figure 56 from panel 2a).

Another group that was copied by both Mark Hutchinson and Tylor is a pair of tall therianthropes, humans with elongated torsos and antelope heads and other strange appendages, looking towards each other while walking and leaning forward to the right (**Plate 1.3.7**). The figure on the right with three heads has also attracted the attention of recent scholars (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1992: 46; **Fig. 1.3.1**), who interpret its figural iconography:

> It may be that the 'extra' heads on the Main Caves therianthrope are better explained by some not yet fully understood Bushman beliefs about animals and shamans than by the suggestion that it is carrying parts of dismembered antelope (1992: 45-7).

When compared with the RARI redrawing, both the Hutchinson and the Tylor copy are relatively accurate in terms of the presence of figural elements, including the enigmatic 'additional' appendages, although their contours and proportions are not always precise because they were copied freehand (whereas the RARI redrawing derives from a tracing). All three versions isolate essentially the same cluster of elements from other figures overlapping with or closely adjacent to it. Hutchinson did not notice one of the faded and exfoliated antelope heads (easy to confuse with the streaks of natural exfoliation across this rock surface); instead he depicted this 'stub' as a human head. The RARI redrawing of the individual figure includes an oblong form passing behind the lower part of its body (forming a bulge that seems to protrude from its lower back) which Hutchinson also included, while Tylor did not. However, none of these variations affects the figure's current iconographic interpretation as an antelope-headed therianthrope or a "transformed shaman" (ibid.: 46). Perhaps the most striking difference between the nineteenth-century versions and the RARI redrawing is colour: whereas the latter is a monochrome translation, both Hutchinson and Tylor captured the rock painter's use of red-brown and white pigments, while Hutchinson also shaded the transition from ochre to white in the figure on the right to create an impression of volume, somewhat exaggerating the width of this gradient in the process. Both therianthropes have been traced as part of a much wider panel (**Fig. 1.3.2**), pointing to the question of why these particular figures repeatedly attracted attention.

In some of the Hutchinson copies Ward and Maggs (1994: 156-7) see a "rather coarse and insensitive rendering of the originals compared with work by the better copyists of recent years" despite the fact that both father and son were capable of "meticulously observed, naturalistic work". Some of their copies show a somewhat stiff style, perhaps especially for the more fantastical subjects like therianthropes, and a caricatural, clichéd style for certain human figures. Other examples show more gentle and refined treatment, in particular those portraying animals, and include attention to the detail of the background texture of the natural rock canvas. Overall, I would argue that their copies come closer to an aesthetic accuracy than either the Tylor or RARI versions. In notes accompanying an exhibition of their drawings, Mark Hutchinson (1883) states that "[t]he facsimiles ... are copied with the greatest care, so as to represent faithfully the defects, as well as the merits, of the originals. Especial care has been taken by myself and son to avoid giving any feeling of our own, and to reproduce with absolute accuracy the drawing and colouring of the Bushmans" (ibid.: 464). He was so concerned about fidelity that he asked a professional artist for her opinion of his

Fig. 1.3.1. RARI REDRAWING OF A THERIANTHROPIC FIGURE FROM MAIN CAVES
Image: RARI (SARADA: RSA-MAI1-12R).

Fig. 1.3.2. RARI REDRAWING OF THERIANTHROPE PANEL FROM MAIN CAVES
A continuous horizontal sequence from top left. Image: RARI (SARADA: RSA-MAI1-1R).

most scrupulous copy; and reported her saying that, although it was "substantially accurate, a slight advantage in spirit of outline still remained in the original" (ibid.: 465).

Tylor too "endeavoured to sketch the paintings as exactly alike the original as possible and not to exaggerate in any way", sketching them "as true to natural size as [he] could manage without tracing paper" (Tylor's correspondence[13] quoted in Ward 1997: 80). He generally employed flat washes of uniform colour, and for gradients applied 'steps' of colour (as in **Plate 1.3.6**). He found the task of copying the paintings arduous and felt disappointed by his sketches. For instance, he observed that the figures stood out more on the paper than on the rock because of the influence of the yellow-brown colour of the sandstone surface and expressed the hope that "the actual tint [would be] of less value [to his uncle E.B. Tylor] than the outline and subject". Because they were not traced, Ward found Tylor's copies to be, by today's figural iconographic standards, rather poor (ibid.: 81) but, although generally more stiff and caricatural than the Hutchinsons', many of them are also not significantly deviant in terms of figural iconography. A group of monochrome figures copied at Bamboo Hollow[14] is virtually identical to a recent redrawing from a tracing (**Plate 1.3.8**, **Fig. 1.3.3**).

Alongside the numerous copies of rock paintings, Mark Hutchinson produced a drawing of the inside of a large rock shelter occupied by Bushmen engaged in various activities (**Plate 1.3.9**). He modelled the cave environment on the view out one end of South Cave but from the appearance of the actual cave it is evident that his drawing does not accurately reflect the rock formations, their scale, the paintings or the surrounding landscape, and the Bushman characters were also in all likelihood imagined.

The imaginary quality of this drawing raised suspicion with regards to the Hutchinsons' use of "artistic licence", but it belongs to a different genre where other rules apply. Ward and Maggs (1994: 159) nonetheless concede that most of the Hutchinson rock art copies show sufficient accuracy to provide the rare opportunity of comparing copies from the nineteenth century with what survives of the rock paintings today, proposing that, more generally, facsimile copies can be used in deterioration studies "provided that the limitations of such copies are recognized" (ibid.: 153).

BROTHER OTTO MÄDER

The final example I consider in this section was a German-born painter who served the Mariannhill Missions as a draughtsman at various stations in South Africa, also known as Brother Otto and Otto Trapp (b.1863-d.1937). Adrian Flett and Penny Letley (2007) examine his work as a copyist and go some way to correct earlier views that he had "quaint and fanciful" ideas about the art, instead positioning him as a faithful and dedicated recorder who developed several important ideas about the rock painters' techniques and the meanings behind the rock artworks.

Mäder's better-known and more mature work reflects the rock paintings of the Kei River Valley, where he was commissioned by Father A lbert Schweiger to copy paintings in 1913-14 while based at Keilands Mission (on the Great Kei River, Eastern Cape; **Plates 1.3.10**, **1.3.11**). A distinction can be made in Mäder's work between "field watercolours" and paintings "for exhibition purposes". His recording procedure involved taking measurements and making sketches and notes

[13] Letter to Edward Burnett Tylor dated 20 October 1893 (p.2). PRM.

[14] NSN: 2929BC 063 (Bamboo Hollow 5); SSN: RSA BAM1.

Fig. 1.3.3. RARI REDRAWING OF THE RAINMAKING GROUP FROM BAMBOO HOLLOW
Image: RARI (SARADA: RSA-BAM1-1R).

in situ, and from this first generation of working documents he later produced more presentable composite illustrations, many dating from 1932 when he was stationed at Mariannhill.[15] But his interest began in the 1890s in the southern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg when he was stationed at the Reichenau Mission, close to Underberg, in 1893-94.

The six published copies and three photographs from the Reichenau period (Mäder 1908) come from a single site, Sangwana Shelter (Flett & Letley 2007: 106).[16] The location of the original drawings from this period is unknown, precluding a closer assessment, but his formal style appears somewhat stiff and caricatural. Flett and Letley (ibid.: 118) observe that the copies "still bear some evidence of seeing the art with a Eurocentric slant". However, several of the renderings show an incipient interest in including the natural features of the rock around the painted figures.

In Germany he was allegedly trained as a painter specializing in the restoration and reproduction of medieval works, and in his service to the Mariannhill Missions one of his primary responsibilities was to convert architectural plans into working drawings (ibid.: 103-4). This combination of technical drawing skill and painterly technique is visible in his later copies of rock paintings, where he developed a style of representing on one sheet of paper, with an economy of means, the figures' colourful detail, as well as their articulation across natural rock forms, scale and position in the wider landscape. He saw his approach as comprehensive:

> The pictures were copied completely and systematically, so that they form a record without selection or omission . . . This method of wholesale copy is of great importance, because isolated elements were not taken and robbed thereby of their context; the pictures were carefully reproduced in water colours; great pains were taken in studying the technique whereby the originals were executed . . . Notes were made concerning the technical execution of the originals at the time of copying and were written on the copies during the period of research (Huss & Mäder 1925: 497).

Flett and Letley (2007) include a numerical assessment to gauge the accuracy of his copies in relation to current figural iconographic requirements of precision of outline, and his copies fall within a narrow margin of discrepancy. Although he tended to avoid depicting facial features (possibly for religious reasons) he could otherwise "very seldom be accused of subjective alteration; even in the few instances where points were deducted for alteration, there was no gross distortion of images" (ibid.: 113). He also "avoided Schweiger's error of allowing preconceived ideas to influence what he saw" and seems to have been able to "separate the art from his religious beliefs and to examine it in a more methodical and dispassionate way" (ibid.: 111, 118).

When Raymond Dart (1925) argued in a controversial article for external influences on the cultures of South Africa, claiming that foreigners were depicted in the art, he used information and pictures supplied by Schweiger and Mäder, thereby linking them to his dubious theories. Because of this association, Mäder has not received the credit due to him, but his distinctive copying procedure has much greater value than previously thought. He recorded the paintings more holistically than many other copyists of his time (and indeed many since), discouraging people from viewing them "as isolated images to be separated from their general context and analysed through Western eyes" (Flett & Letley 2007: 116). His presentation of the paintings is innovative and unlike any

[15] An archive of Mäder's work (118 field watercolours and 45 exhibition paintings) is kept at the Mariannhill Monastery along with several painted slabs that were removed from the sites he documented, and several of his photographs are in the care of the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), but it is likely that this archive is far from complete, although Flett and Letley (2007: 108-11, 121) were unable to ascertain whether any of Mäder's work has been preserved elsewhere.

[16] NSN: 2929CD 015 (Sangwana Shelter 1, also known as Elephant Shelter); SSN: RSA MRT2.

other recorder whose work I have studied, because it involves close observation at the scale of the individual figures as well as a landscape view. They explicitly point to the distance between the original parietal painting and the copy, almost encouraging the viewer to locate and experience it firsthand in the landscape rather than to rely on a copy.

EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS

While my study focuses primarily on manual copying techniques, I do touch on photography, particularly as it pertains to my case studies. The more detailed writing of histories of rock art photography would be a valuable contribution to the field of visual archaeology and all the more important in a time where photography as an artistic practice is being disturbed and challenged by digital technology in its privileged relationship to the 'real'.[17]

Under the Mariannhill Monastery's far-sighted founder, Fr. Franz Pfanner, a professional photographic studio was opened there in the 1890s (probably in 1894).[18] Photographs processed in this studio made a significant contribution to the early photographic archive of Natal and in addition to being the author of sketches and watercolours, Mäder also became an early rock art photographer: four photographs attributed to him, two from 1894 and two from 1895 (Mäder 1908[19]), are the earliest photographs I have found for the Maloti-Drakensberg region (**Plate 1.3.12**).

Tylor reported seeing earlier photographs taken at Main Caves by an unnamed German doctor of Ladysmith, but Ward (1997: 78) was unable to track these, which would be the "earliest photographic record of Natal rock paintings". Other early photographs may have been taken in 1894 by "two English women who [were visiting] the Emangweni mission station" which they "intended to sell to an English or American magazine" (Pager 1971: 32). The earliest published photograph that I have identified shows a view of a panel of paintings at Game Pass shelter, Kamberg by J. E. Middlebrook (Harrison 1903: 215).

THE AGE OF RECORDING OPENS

The isolated early reports and copies of the hundred-year period straddling the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries (section 1.2) "pre-empted more systematic recording in the latter half of the nineteenth century" (Hobart et al. 2000: 43). The copyists George Stow, Mark and Graham Hutchinson, Louis Tylor and Otto Mäder opened up the Maloti-Drakensberg region for rock art study in this latter period. Their work has been examined by scholars, but it presents further research potential to identify more of the sites they visited, where not yet known, to understand their positions and their legacy as copyists and interpreters, in greater detail and for any information their copies may contain about the originals. Joseph Millerd Orpen is also an inescapable copyist from this era and I examine his contribution in an in-depth painting-specific study in the next part of this thesis (chapter 2). Charles Sirr Orpen, Joseph's older brother, also made copies of rock paintings[20] and no doubt other archival sources still await discovery.

[17] Early photographs were sometimes retouched in a painterly fashion, situating them closer to painted copies. (Harry Wylde-Browne (introduced in chapter 4.1) was a practitioner of this technique.)

[18] From the synopsis of Christoph Rippe's doctoral research project on the Mariannhill photographic studio (last viewed 19 November 2011): http://blog.ulwazi.org/2011/04/an-inquiry-photographs-from-the-mariannhill-monastery-near-pinetown-1880s-1930s/

[19] Three were published in this article, and a fourth is unpublished. PRM.

[20] NMB, SARADA.

Copyists in this period were not simply early, and therefore uninformed and inaccurate, workers in the field of rock art studies. Several qualify as early recorders—documentarists—of rock art. They were acutely aware of the fragility of the artworks and their significance as an expression of a threatened culture, and they sought to preserve them in some form for future study. They were aware of the problems associated with subjective copying, and struggled through all kinds of logistical challenges to capture the paintings faithfully. Their outlook was not simply curious, it was philanthropic and arguably an early form of rescue archaeology (cf. Wilkinson 2011: 29). Still of central interested to them was the naturalism of certain figures, but they also began to recognize that rock paintings may not always be what they seem. While the world of Bushman imagery was unfamiliar both in style and content to the early recorders, the fact that the paintings attracted their attention despite them having no, or at best very limited, knowledge of the symbolism of their figural constituents, supports the idea that the paintings' aesthetic and affective qualities were a significant part of their visual 'meaning'.

Nor were these early copies necessarily less accurate than present-day copies. Because each rock painting and each copy is different, they need to be studied on a case-by-case basis and their specific strengths and weaknesses established in relational terms. When older copies are assessed from within the intense figural iconographic focus of contemporary rock art scholars, it isn't surprising that they are found to be inaccurate or incomplete and it is not useful to judge past copies only according to this criteria. All copies at all times are removed and constructed and the value of each image as 'truth' or 'record' is, in each instance, bound to its time and culture. Several older examples can actually be considered more accurate than modern ones considering, for example, their colour and painterly qualities. Mäder stands out from the rest for his portrayal of the rock paintings in a landscape, and his interest in site-specificity could be compared with that of Thomas Baines (section 1.2).

This period also sees the first examples of painted imagery copied by more than one person at different times. Sites began to accumulate layered documentary histories. From the turn of the twentieth century onwards, one can observe a proliferation of copies. Whitney Davis (1990: 286) suggests that beginning in the 1920s, empirical research was very successful in establishing a corpus of rock pictures on which a sustained study could subsequently be based, and this centrally included the publishing of pictorial copies and photographs. Numerous copies (not dealt with in this study) exist by Dorothea Bleek, Helen Tongue (1909),[21] Frédéric Christol (1911; Le Quellec et al. 2009), the Abbé Henri Breuil,[22] Maria Wilman,[23] John Young,[24] and Victor and Paul Ellenberger (1953),[25] to name but a few who were active in the first half of the twentieth century in the Maloti-Drakensberg region. Although certain copies by some of these copyists have been published and are well known, the primary archives have not been examined in close detail.

[21] ISAM, RARI, PRM, SARADA.

[22] RARI/SARADA.

[23] ISAM, SARADA.

[24] KZNM.

[25] The Ellenberger family collection curated by AFEBAT (France) has recently been digitized by SARADA.

2

Sehonghong's rainmaking group[1]

LOCATING THE ORIGINAL THROUGH THE COPIES

In this first case study I focus on the archival history of a small group of paintings. The group comes from Sehonghong Shelter, located near the modern village of Sehonghong in the highlands of Lesotho (**Map 3**). While conducting this research, I chose not to visit the site because I wished to see what it was possible to discover about the position of the original within the shelter purely through the existing pictorial record.[2]

I selected the Sehonghong group because of its status as "one of the most celebrated southern African rock paintings" (Lewis-Williams 2003: 64). It was one of the first works of hunter-gatherer art to appear in the literate world, and is part of a compilation of four groups from different sites copied by Joseph Millerd Orpen (b.1828–d.1923). Three were created during a military expedition into the Maloti Mountains in 1873–74 and the fourth at an earlier time in the eastern Cape Colony, but all four were published on one lithographic plate soon after the expedition (Orpen 1874; **Plate 2.1**). Orpen created the founding image of the Sehonghong genealogy at a pivotal moment in history. As a colonial officer, he travelled through mountains still largely unexplored by Europeans during a terminal phase of hunter-gatherer occupation as the Maloti highlands were increasingly being settled by black farmers and administered by white colonists (Wright & Mazel 2007: 88–95). Also at around this time, Bushman culture was beginning to become a subject of more in-depth academic enquiry (Bleek 1874).

The Sehonghong group was captioned "From the Cave Mangolong in the Maloti" and described in the accompanying article as an underwater scene involving the capture or leading of an animal by men using a long rope (Orpen 1874: 10, 12). Mangolong was possibly an erroneous name or an alternative name used for the site at that time. Today the cave is locally known as Lehaha-la-Sehonghong or Lehaha-la-Soai, meaning Sehonghong Cave or Soai's Cave (Mitchell 2010: 149).

[1] This chapter has been published as a journal article in *Southern African Humanities* (2011).

[2] One of my examiners found it was puzzling that I chose not to visit this site during my research, while I did visit the other case study sites on a number of occasions, suggesting that this creates a theoretical and methodological imbalance (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012). I agree that an archival study never equals the experience of the original place, but that is precisely the point: in a way this chapter functions as a 'theory' chapter because it grew out of a 'desktop' study of a rock-shelter rather than through fieldwork; and it reveals some of the potential as well as the limitations of this methodology. That it is possible to study part of a distant landscape without leaving one's office is amazing, and this kind of immediacy is increasingly facilitated in our digitally networked world. But rather than providing a shortcut, it changes the nature of the work that we do. If I do visit Sehonghong Shelter (as I would like to as a follow-up of this work), the research I generate will be of a different kind.

Although the cave still contains many paintings, they have degraded badly since James Grant, one of the two other British officers on the expedition, described their colours as "most brilliant" (Mitchell & Challis 2008: 434). Over time, the paintings brought attention to the site that was probably, paradoxically, an important factor in their demise. In addition to the natural weathering they have suffered, many are today obscured behind layers of graffiti. Almost a century after it was first copied, Patricia Vinnicombe observed that the rainmaking group was very indistinct and difficult to photograph (1976: 337, 2009: 329) and a more recent reference states that the painting is very faded and unsuitable for photography (Lewis-Williams 2003: 64). Some figures are still faintly visible *in situ*, but they are indistinct in natural-light photographs. A current wall display at the Origins Centre (University of the Witwatersrand) describes the demise of the site as a "tragedy". Mitchell (2010: 167) sees a bleak future for Sehonghong's painted imagery and calls for further investigations, recommending a "fuller publication and interpretation of the site's paintings", drawing on archival sources and what is left of the paintings today.

Since Orpen's 1874 article, the rainmaking group has appeared many times in print, perpetuated through a genealogy of copies. I have compiled tables listing a number of its illustrated published appearances and provide an overview of how these have been used in the literature over time (**Cat. 1**, **2**). The recent publication of Grant's 1873–74 expedition diary (Mitchell & Challis 2008) contains three different versions: a schematic monochrome redrawing of Orpen's freehand four-group compilation, a colour photograph of the actual rock panel where the rainmaking group occurs and a painted redrawing produced from a tracing (ibid.: 430, 434–5; **Plate 2.2**, **2.3**). Although the various illustrations all depict the same cluster of figures, the visual relationship between them is not in the first instance obvious.

The photograph (**Plate 2.2**) shows an exfoliated rock surface with a number of indistinct painted figures that we know from the caption to be the rainmaking panel. Among the discernible shapes, two dark-ochre and white eland stand out, while the two redrawn versions (**Plate 2.3** and **Fig. 2.1**) contain no eland. The photograph's original caption points to elements that are not immediately obvious, relating it to the redrawings:

> The two rain animals are one above the other in the upper right of the frame, both of them below the large downward trending discontinuity in the rock face. Their two bodies are visible as large faded red areas of paint, while the thong connected to the nose of the upper animal and at least two of the human figures associated with it can also be made out (Mitchell & Challis 2008: 434).

The distance between the photograph and redrawings draws attention to the difference between the way rock paintings are illustrated and the way they actually look. I explore this disjuncture by tracking the published and unpublished history of Sehonghong's now iconic group.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE RAINMAKING MYTH

Orpen (1874: 1) expressed a specific interest in paintings showing "a mythological meaning, or representing quasi-religious rites". He sought the guidance of Qing, reportedly one of the last Maloti Bushmen, and encouraged him to impart, "when happy and at ease smoking over camp-fires, … stories and explanations of the paintings" (ibid.: 2). This is perhaps one way of understanding why Orpen chose to copy 'narrative' scenes, by which I mean images that support or illustrate stories, or which are related to storytelling.

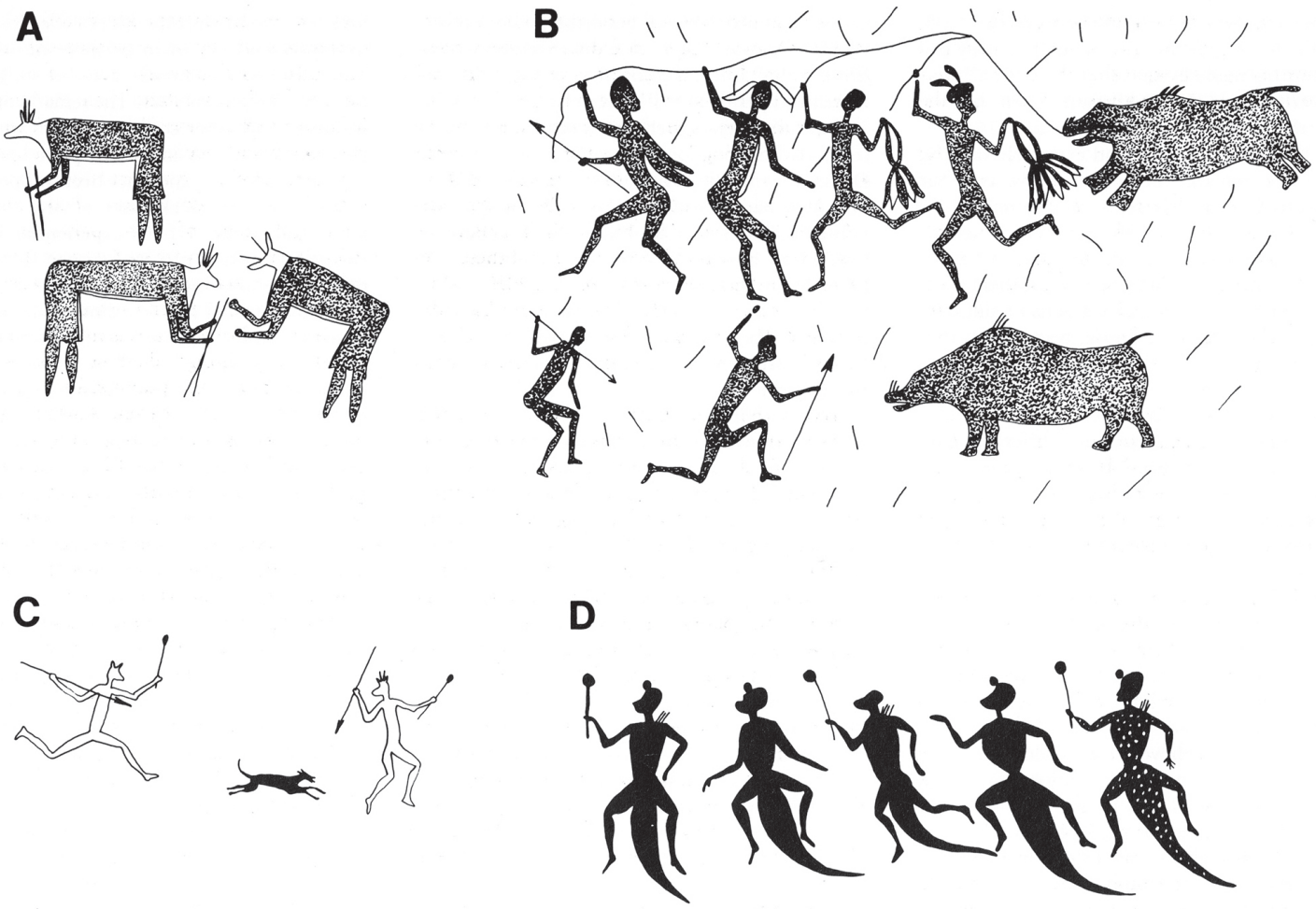

Fig. 2.1. REDRAWING OF ORPEN'S 1874 PLATE recently re-published in Mitchell & Challis (2008: 430, fig. 8b) after Lewis-Williams (1981a: 33, fig. 9). B indicates the rain-making group.

Orpen's article includes a string of story fragments recounted by Qing, portions of which can be related to the illustrations. These images arouse a particular fascination because they represent possibly the only paintings to be explained *in situ* by a member of the culture that produced them. The significance of Orpen's article as a major nineteenth-century source of Bushman ethnography in the production of rock art knowledge has been explained and repeated in many publications (e.g. Lewis-Williams 2003, 2006, 2010; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a); I include a brief overview here.

In 1874 Orpen sent his manuscript to the editor of the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, who forwarded it to Dr Wilhelm Bleek for comment (Lewis-Williams 2008: 472–3). Bleek, in collaboration with Lucy Lloyd, was recording the folklore of |Xam Bushmen from the central Cape Colony. The scene from 'Cave Mangolong' elicited more comment from their informants than any of the other copies (Lewis-Williams 1980: 469). They interpreted the scene as depicting rainmaking and described the type of animal it contained as a "water cow" (Bleek 1874: 12). Vinnicombe (1976: 336-337, 2009: 326) and Lewis-Williams (1981a: 34) later returned to Qing's underwater explanation and established it as compatible with rainmaking. Similar rainmaking scenes involving rain animals being pulled along by "medicine men" or "shamans of the rain" have been identified in paintings elsewhere in the Maloti-Drakensberg and further afield, as well as in engravings and other verbatim accounts (e.g. Deacon 1988).

The Orpen and Bleek sources have since been used in triangulation with twentieth-century San ethnography to propose a "pan-San" culture (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: xix–xx) supporting what is now the dominant shamanistic paradigm for the interpretation of the art. Further, the complementary work of Orpen and Qing, and Bleek, Lloyd and their informants, has intrigued researchers since its rediscovery in the 1970s and catalysed the study of Bushman or San culture into an "academic industry" (Lewis-Williams 2006: n.2).

ORPEN'S MISSING FIELD SKETCH

The four painted groups in Orpen's article were printed together on a foldout plate in the first published instance of chromolithographic technology in the country (Dubow 2006: 109; **Plate 2.1**). Production of the three-colour plate would have required the preparation of three separate limestone slabs, one for each of the tints of reddish-brown, black and tan. Thus the lithographer would have redrawn the sketches supplied by Orpen, modifying the images to refract them into separate flat colours.

Four watercolours in the collections of the South African National Library are attributed to Orpen and it has been suggested that these are his original field copies (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 32). At first glance, this appears to be the case, but the watercolours too once formed a single large sheet of paper, reportedly cut into four circa 1970–80.[3] I digitally reassembled the separate watercolours following the layout of the 1874 plate (**Plate 2.4**). The dimensions of the pieces are consistent with this hypothesis, as are stains and scuff marks that continue across the joins from one watercolour to another.

Outlined faintly in pencil and painted in with coloured washes on brown paper, the figures depicted in the watercolours are also uncannily similar to the lithographic images. Brush strokes

[3] This approximate date, "supplied by Prof. Lewis-Williams 6.7.1992", is included in the notes associated with the four records (ARB 7355, ARB 7356, ARB 7357 and ARB 7358), NLSA online catalogue (last viewed 13 February 2011): http://198.54.80.51/search~S7/

and faint variations in pigment concentration, with some overlapping and bleeding of colours, give the figures some depth, but this was not a deliberate attempt to create an illusion of corporeality; the figures are essentially like shadows projected onto a flat plane. The published plate presents flatter, crisper, and more intense but similar colours—reddish-brown and black, against a tan background printed on white paper. The rectangular, tan-coloured background field of the lithographic print corresponds with the natural brown colour of the paper in the watercolour, while what is painted white in the watercolour is simply left blank—the white colour of the paper underneath the printed lithographic image. The same handwritten captions also appear on both the watercolours and the lithograph. Thus, it seems more likely that the watercolour was a preparatory colour-separation guide created by the lithographer.

Whatever the case, the four watercolours are not the original field sketches I had hoped to find; the large sheet is an unwieldy format for mountain expeditions and, furthermore, it is a compilation of paintings copied at different times. This raises a question: how closely did the plate resemble Orpen's field sketches? They may have been collected in a portable notebook-type format, as suggested in a film comprising a dramatized re-enactment of Orpen's encounter with Qing loop-screened at the University of the Witwatersrand's Origins Centre (*broken threads* 2006; **Plate 2.5**), but if Orpen kept a diary of the expedition, it has never been found (Lewis-Williams 2008: 470).

THE ORPEN DIAGRAM

The watercolours and lithographic plate are very closely related, but in the inferred transposition from the one to the other, a few elements were lost: the white belly of one of the rope-pulling men and the faint dashes occurring in amongst the figures of the rainmaking group. Orpen's transcription of Qing's story describes the dashes as something to do with water: "They are all under water, and those strokes are things growing under water" (1874: 10). Various authors have commented on their absence from the published 1874 illustration (Frobenius 1931a: 23; Vinnicombe 1976: 336, 2009: 326; Smits 1973: 33) as well as from most subsequent reproductions (Lewis-Williams 1980: 469) because they play an important role in the interpretation of the group as water-related.

The first phase of subsequent reproductions of the group comprises simplified or modified copies of the Orpen versions (**Cat. 1**). Pictures belonging to this lineage were either copied from the preparatory watercolour sketch or the lithographic print, and are very similar. They are 'diagrammatic'—that is, they depict the simplified shapes and features of the image required to support a verbal explanation rather than the actual appearance of the original paintings. Even without being familiar with the original, the viewer can observe that these versions are purged of detail, are stylized, and are much clearer and flatter than the actual rock paintings could ever have been.

Also copied from Orpen, the Frobenius version (1931a: 23; **Fig. 2.2**) goes one step further in terms of translating the rock painting into a diagram. It not only reduces the image to smooth contours, but it communicates an idea of colour through a monochrome graphic code. The image is made up of black values only, but a colour legend informs the viewer that fields of solid black should be read as red-brown, a cross-hatched pattern as black, and a hatched pattern as white. I prefer to designate such redrawings as monochrome, as opposed to black-and-white as they are sometimes referred to in the literature (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1981a: 33), because they are executed in one colour only and demonstrate little or no awareness of the role of negative space (the void between the figures).

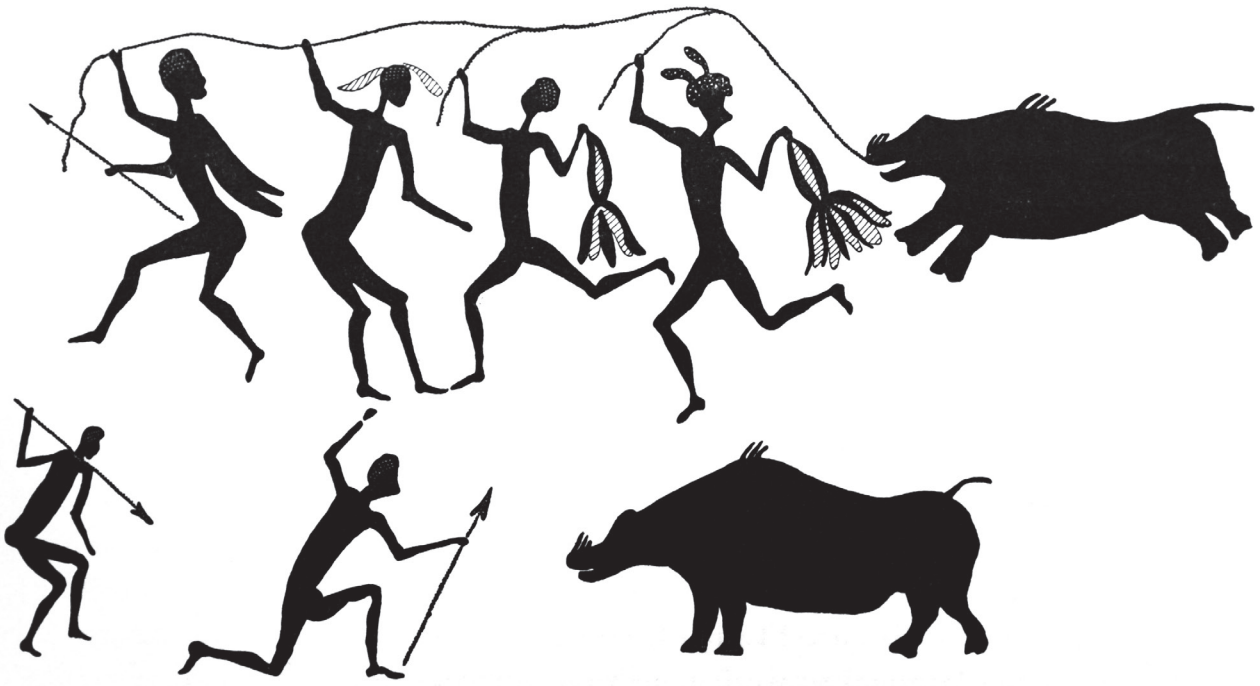

FIG. 4. MANGOLONG-GROTTE, MALUTI, NACH J. M. ORPEN

Menschen und Tiere rotbraun (■) Speere, Leine, Haare oder Kopfbedeckungen schwarz (▩), weiss (////) Striche, von denen auf S. 18 und 22 die Rede ist, fehlen auf der Kopie

Fig. 2.2. REDRAWING OF ORPEN'S RAINMAKING GROUP with original caption as published by L. Frobenius (1931a: 23).

In 1971 a small expedition from Roma campus (Lesotho), at that time part of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland,[4] trekked into the Upper Senqu Valley, which was then still a fairly remote area of the Maloti mountains. They retraced part of the journey followed by Orpen and Grant in 1873–74 and recorded rock art sites along the way. Lucas Smits describes how they identified a prominent sandstone shelter in a small tributary valley known as Sehonghong, as "Orpen's long-lost 'Cave Mangolong in the Maluti'" (1973: 32).

An older source shows that the connection between Mangolong and Sehonghong had already been made (Webb 1950: i. 133, 282; ii. 31; Smits 1973: 32). It is indeed difficult to establish the exact moment Orpen's 'long-lost' cave was 'found' again. Patricia Vinnicombe visited and confirmed it as Orpen's site in 1957 (Mitchell 2010: 151). In 1967 Smits independently rediscovered that Mangolong was identical to the site previously visited by Patricia Vinnicombe (Lucas Smits pers. comm. 2010). The identity of the site was strengthened after the publication of Smits's 1973 article.

Vinnicombe traced the vast majority of the paintings at Sehonghong in 1971 (Mitchell 2010: 152) but she followed Orpen's lead by selecting this group out from other paintings, labelling it "Orpen's rainmaking group", placing it separately on its own sheet of polythene and isolating it in subsequent redrawings (**Plate 2.6**). From this tracing was born the second lineage of reproductions (**Cat. 2**).

Vinnicombe created her tracing with prepared watercolour paints on a thin sheet of polythene, according to a field technique developed during her extensive recording expeditions in the region (Vinnicombe 1960; Olofsson 2009). Although it is difficult to find a more appropriate term, the term 'tracing' is somewhat misleading when used in this context, because it implies a 'dry' technique of direct copying using traced outlines. The term more accurately refers to the technique used currently by the Rock Art Research Institute of the University of the Witwatersrand, which employs thin-leaded mechanical pencils on transparent paper (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 38). In an approach Vinnicombe (2010: 245) describes as akin to 'mimesis', in the sense of an imitation of something in order to enter into its 'mind', Vinnicombe copied the paintings more on their own terms by using paint and repeating the strokes and gestures of the first painters. But in the field, she did not strive for complete naturalism; instead she used abbreviated forms, annotations and a tailor-made colour code, creating a more veristic synthesis at a later stage when she transferred the information onto paper in her studio, using a custom-made rendering technique (Olofsson 2009: 52).

Unlike Orpen's missing field copies, Vinnicombe's tracings have been preserved in an archive,[5] although the tracing of the rainmaking scene has not before now been included in the published trajectory. Because of the logistical challenges of creating hand-drawn pictures in the mountains, manual field copies have often been conceived as transitory mnemonic devices enabling the creation of more permanent or presentable versions later on. They are prepared with materials adapted to the field and not necessarily with a view to archival longevity. Tracings on polythene sheets are highly fragile, and require specialized curation, restoration or transfer to more archivally stable paper if they are to be preserved. They are also inherently difficult to digitize because they are transparent and brittle, and often creased, wrinkled and warped because of the ageing of the plastic

[4] Today known as the National University of Lesotho, the institution had close ties with tertiary institutions in Botswana and Swaziland until 1975.

[5] PV (RARI).

and the way they have been stored. Cleaner, more definitive copies tend to be used for dissemination and publication, whereas the dirtier and more fugitive field versions are kept in closed archives.

Field copies do not necessarily possess more likeness simply by virtue of their intimate contact with the original paintings, but they do embody a significant step between the originals and subsequently redrawn versions and often contain information about the originals and their wider context that is not translated into redrawings. For example, Vinnicombe's tracings included notes and symbols indicating where the rainmaking figures were situated in relation to other paintings and their vertical orientation. Furthermore, the way the polythene sheets are cut in places follows the natural shapes of the rock.

When the site was rediscovered, it was confirmed that Orpen had not traced the group (Smits 1973: 33) but had rather copied it freehand. Orpen's version has nonetheless always been considered essentially correct in terms of its iconographic content (Vinnicombe 1976: 337, 2009: 329), with one significant 'error' described above and noted in a number of earlier publications: the absence of water strokes, an example of loss of information from one generation of copies to the next. For a "modern, accurate tracing of this painting", Lewis-Williams (1981a: 37 n. 6) refers us to two different redrawings created by Vinnicombe from the 1971 field copy (Smits 1973: 32 and Vinnicombe 1976: 337, illustrated here in **Fig. 2.3** and **Plate 2.7** respectively).

VINNICOMBE'S REPAINTING

The first modern reference is a painted redrawing—perhaps 'repainting' is a better term[6]—created in 1971 shortly after the expedition.[7] It was first published in black and white (Vinnicombe 1976: 337) and more recently in colour (Mitchell & Challis 2008: 435; Vinnicombe 2009: 329); **Plate 2.2**).

Because Vinnicombe's repainting is based on a tracing, it tracks the shapes and contours of the original paintings much more closely than the Orpen versions. In a comparison of different versions of the equally iconic therianthrope group from Melikane Shelter (**Fig. 2.1 A**; see also **Plate 2.1**), Leibhammer observes that the figures in Orpen's version have "proportions that are more anthropomorphically normative when compared with the copy by Vinnicombe" (2009: 46); this is also true of the rainmaking group. Orpen changed the proportions of the figures' bodies so that they appeared less elongated and exaggerated, in some cases shortening the length of the torsos in relation to the legs, and thighs to shins, and reducing the curvature of the legs and torsos. The postures of the human figures generally show greater restraint in terms of physical movement. This difference is suggestive.

During the European colonization of Africa, traditional African dance became entrenched as an important trope of primitiveness in the discourse on Africans; it was considered a primordial physical expression associated with instinct, animality, loss of control and possession, and opposed to the higher, aesthetic, dance traditions of 'civilized' societies (Castaldi 2006: 37–42). Orpen's translation of the highly dynamic, supple and expressive leaping and lunging postures of the

[6] While this term could of course be misleading if taken to refer to the repeated painting or touching up of paintings on the actual rock surfaces (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012), the phrases 'painted redrawing' or 'coloured redrawing' do not reflect the 'wetness' or fluidity of the copy's painted medium (being associated with the 'dryness' of drawing).

[7] PV (KZNM).

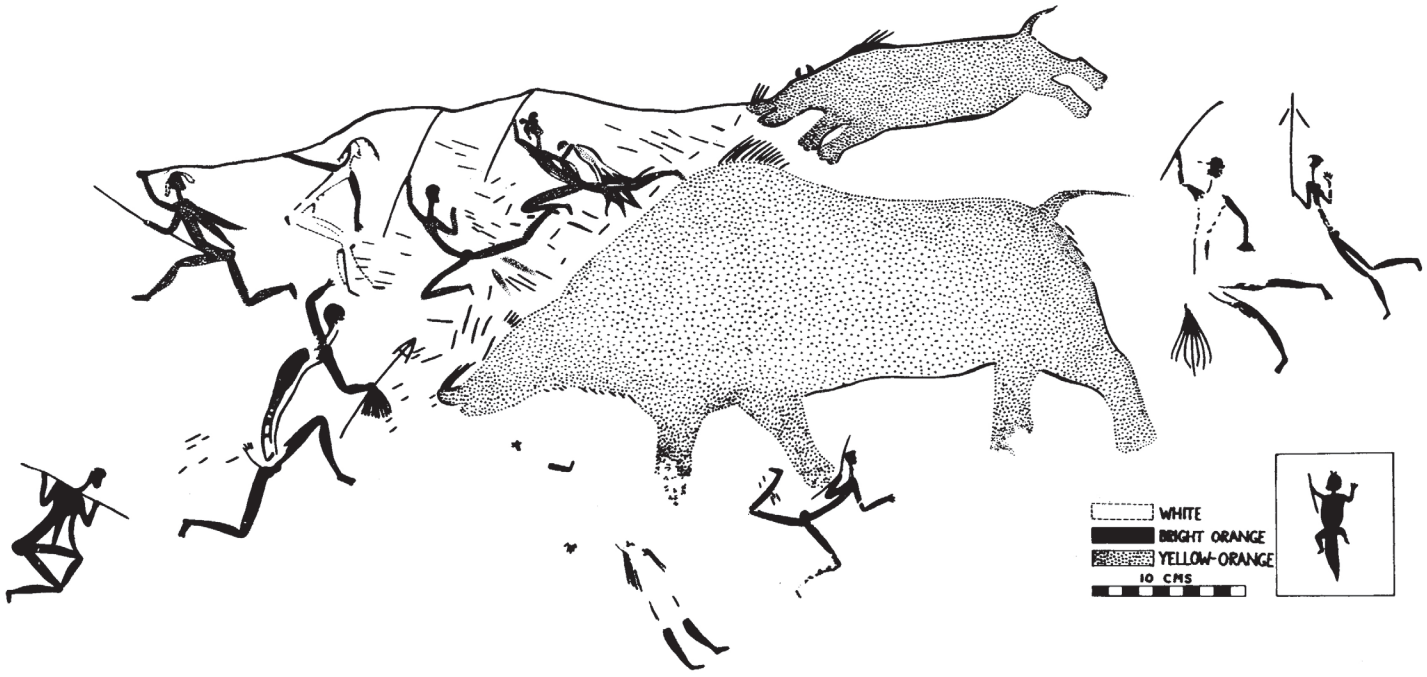

Fig. 1

32

Fig. 2.3. P. VINNICOMBE'S REDRAWING
prepared for a journal publication (Smits 1973: 32) from the tracing illustrated in **Plate 26**. Courtesy of Lucas Smits.

original figures into more moderate 'skipping' or 'jogging' actions may be an expression of this unease, something clearly not felt by Vinnicombe.

An examination of the layout and spatial organization of the scene allows a related observation. The Orpen rendering features figures of a standard height arranged into two horizontal text-like rows, where there is no sense of space or depth beyond this flat plane. The lower rain animal has been made to resemble the upper one more closely in shape, size and posture. The overall arrangement has been orthogonally adjusted in its transposition onto the two-dimensional, rectangular surface of the paper: the 'rows' of activity are clearly separated, flattened and made horizontal, almost hieroglyphic, where the space between them functions as a hiatus. There is, however, no such separation in Vinnicombe's version, where the two 'rows' are mixed together in a single swirling, eddy-like movement. The lower rain animal is much larger, has more exaggerated, adult-like features and looks more firmly planted on an imagined ground than the upper one, which appears by its pose to be flying. Writing about Orpen's version of the Melikane therianthrope scene, Leibhammer observes that "a sense of balance in a determinate realm with gravitational forces is implied in the image" (2009: 46). This observation can equally be made of his version of the rainmaking scene. The composition and dynamism of the Vinnicombe copy can be described as simultaneously more floating, centric and non-linear. There is a sense of depth and movement, where the space between the figures is a zone of tension—to use Groenewegen-Frankfort's expression, a "significant void" (1951: 1). This floating or flying quality also invokes the interpretation of the paintings in light of other worlds and altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams 2002c: 144–8) and points to another important visual aspect that would not have been easy for Orpen to make sense of.

The Vinnicombe repainting perfectly illustrates the 'painterly' trend in rock art copies, which is to say, it is characterized by that which is specific to the act of painting (colour, colour blending, stroke, gesture and texture) rather than of drawing (lines and contours). Because it was both traced and redrawn in a painterly fashion, 'errors' of colour, shape, proportion, relative position, composition, space and dynamism present in the Orpen copy were to a large degree 'corrected'. Furthermore, Vinnicombe included incomplete figures, conveying the brokenness and uncertainty of the original. Examples include the fragmentary red monochrome human figures in the lower part of the group, and the larger rain animal, whose feet gradually fade into nothing.

VINNICOMBE'S REDRAWING

Lewis-Williams' second modern reference is a black-ink redrawing that was prepared by Vinnicombe for a journal publication (Smits 1973: 32; **Fig. 2.3**). It differs significantly from her painted version and also from constituents of the Orpen lineage.

In this monochrome redrawing, a legend mediates colour, as with the Frobenius example discussed earlier (1931a: 23; **Fig 2.2**.). Rock art authors have made extensive use of such legends, most often publishing colour-coded monochrome diagrams without 'real colour' versions of the paintings or other chromatic information. When based on careful tracings, such illustrations are considered highly accurate for capturing the figural iconographic content of the original paintings, but on other levels they are highly inaccurate (Dowson 1996: 316–18; Leibhammer 2009). Not only are viewers faced with the challenge of visualizing colour through the medium of a monochrome graphic code, but they are often presented with ambiguous information. As Smits observed (1973: 33), in the Vinnicombe example under discussion (**Fig. 2.3**), black cannot be differentiated from

bright orange, both being represented by solid black. White poses a similar problem, as there is confusion between white in the painting (represented by negative space in the diagram, in this case the white colour of the paper) and the empty ground on which the figures are painted—the true negative space in the original (also white paper in the diagram). The importance of the negative space must not be underestimated; because the rock is an integral part of the paintings, the unpainted zones are meaningful (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 181).

Although conventions shaping such diagrams have become more methodical, problems of colour value and void have not been resolved. A related problem surrounds the difference between line and field. In diagrams of rock paintings, a line can represent a black or otherwise coloured line, but it can also represent the edge of an unoutlined field (without contour in the painting). So in the Vinnicombe ink redrawing, a thin black line can indicate any one of three things—a black line, a bright orange line, or the edge of an otherwise coloured unoutlined field. It is impossible to translate the monochrome diagram back into any semblance of the original colour painting. What we need then is a more effective use of the coding system so that it takes cognisance of problems of black, white and colour; line and field; and figure and ground.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Colour photographs are in several respects at the opposite end of the spectrum to monochrome drawings. Photography can produce many detailed images in as many blinks of a shutter and, technical limitations aside, the photographic eye does not discriminate within the field captured by the camera. As a result, photographs reflect more of the continuity, colour, texture, natural rock morphology, presence and spatial distribution of the paintings, providing a more naturalistic impression of what they truly look like, where figures merge into and emerge from the rock surface. But photography has its own kinds of ambiguity and selectivity. The photographer subdivides the rock surface into rectangular zones in an ordering yet subjective way according to personal interest and visual acuity. There is also often confusion in photographs between what is painted and the natural rock patterning. In contrast to the numerous published appearances of drawn or painted copies, I know of only one published photograph of the rainmaking panel—my **Plate 2.2** (Mitchell & Challis 2008: 434; Mitchell 2010: 161)—though there are many unpublished photographs in existence.[8]

Most published representations of Sehonghong as a site of rock paintings refer only to the rainmaking scene. This is a highly selective focus, for the cave is a large crescent-shaped sandstone refuge about 90 m wide and 20 m deep, with numerous paintings occurring all along the back wall. Over four days in late October/early November 1985, a team that included Peter Mitchell and Taole Tesele of the Analysis of Rock Art in Lesotho (ARAL) project, recorded fifty-two different

[8] During a number of different site visits, photographs of paintings at Sehonghong were taken by Lucas Smits in 1967 and 1971; Taole Tesele in 1985; Peter Mitchell in 1985, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2006 and 2007; David Pearce in 2004; Bronwen van Doornum, David Pearce and Lara Mallen in 2005; and Jeremy Hollmann and Sam Challis in 2009.

painted panels at the site in notes, photographs and sketches.[9] They lettered the many panels and photographed them with scales in consecutive fashion. The photographer zoomed in and out, at times focusing on individual groups, figures and details.

Because it is relatively complete, the ARAL recording is considered the "definitive" recording of the site's paintings (Benjamin Smith pers. comm. 2009). The photographs are almost panoramic and some can be pieced together to create a continuous field. However, they were never taken at more than a certain maximum distance from the rock wall and, as a result, there is a notable lack of 'middle-distance' information, by which I mean any information relating the painting to the site or landscape, enabling it to be situated in a wider context. The ARAL photographs do not generally show the relationship of the paintings to the floor, the edges of the shelter, or to the other panels (except sometimes inadvertently the immediately adjacent ones).

Despite knowing what it looked like, the ARAL team could not locate the rainmaking scene (Peter Mitchell pers. comm. 2010; **Fig. 2.4**). It was, however, incidentally recorded photographically within ARAL's Panel Q (**Plate 2.8**).

A wide view of the panel in an ARAL photograph shows numerous images on a portion of rock wall that measures about 2 m wide and 1.5 m high. Within this zone the rather inconspicuous rainmaking cluster covers an area measuring about 90 cm wide and 50 cm high. A white glare on the rock surface caused by the light spraying of the paintings to enhance their colours for photography (Mitchell 2010: 152) and/or water seepage contributes further to the image's photographic indistinctness. The photograph provides an opportunity to reflect on the selectivity of Orpen's copy; he was evidently faced with many different paintings to choose from.

How can an outsider begin to make sense of such an abundantly painted panorama?

MAKING ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

To read what may appear to be "chaotic accumulations of disparate images" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 41), Lewis-Williams identified four modes of relative position that can be applied to rock paintings: activity group, juxtapositioning, superpositioning and conflation, specifying that the four modes are not mutually exclusive (1981a: 10). Although these modes have perhaps since been subsumed or overtaken by the syntactical approach (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009), they still provide a useful way into questions of compositional analysis. The rainmaking group falls neatly into the category of activity group, while the wider Panel Q provides examples of other modes in close proximity.

Lewis-Williams proposes that the activity group is the mode most familiar to the 'Western' viewer. The fact that the rainmaking group would have appeared to Orpen as a distinct cluster of activity (presumably brighter and easier to distinguish than it is today), referred to and thus rendered more intelligible by Qing's mythical stories, is one way of explaining why he chose to omit elements that would have been more difficult for him to make sense of. These could have included images that were adjacent but, in his view, unconnected, incoherent or interfering. Structures of composition

[9] ARAL (RARI). The written report on Sehonghong (ARAL 658) compiled by Taole Tesele in 1985 includes a site plan and schematic sketches of each of the painted panels lettered A to Z and A1 to Z1. Photographs credited to Joe Alfers and Lucas Smits have been digitized and can be viewed on the SARADA website (last viewed on 1 May 2011). According to Peter Mitchell (pers. comm. 2010) who was present during the 1985 site visit, the photographs currently credited to Joe Alfers on the website were actually taken by Taole Tesele.

Fig. 2.4. EXCERPT FROM ARAL SITE REPORT 658
with a field-sketch of Panel Q. Image/object: RARI. In faint grey I have superimposed the Vinnicombe diagram (**Fig. 2.3**) to indicate the approximate position of the rainmaking scene.

can be helpful in making sense of the paintings, but one must remain wary of assumptions early on in the research process that some images are arbitrarily placed and without relationship to other images in their immediate vicinity, even if there does not appear to be iconographic or temporal contiguity. Single figures or clusters may be read as independent units, which leads to the tendency for the copyist to separate certain images out from others as constituting particular illustrative (usually story-based or activity-linked) scenes, while images right next to them are ignored. Orpen's copy can be seen as the visual equivalent of his making sense of Qing's fragmented stories by placing them into an understandable consecutive narrative.

Not only Orpen's but all other attempts to 'frame' the rainmaking group demonstrate that there is an unresolved question around where the group ends. Vinnicombe followed Orpen's selection by leaving the superimposed eland out of her tracing, but indeed it is difficult to know exactly what he saw. Recent photographs show the eland standing out much more than the rainmaking scene but the situation may well have been different in 1873. If the rainmaking group was painted over the eland, it may have been created with more fugitive pigments that vanished more quickly than the older paintings beneath. This would be consistent with what Ward and Maggs (1994) found at Giant's Castle with regard to nineteenth-century paintings. If the eland was painted over the rainmaking scene, there is even the possibility that it post-dated Orpen's visit. A number of sources point to the possibility that Bushman painters were still active at Sehonghong in the early 1870s (Mitchell 2010: 156), and, although the presence of hunter-gatherers in the area was severely dwindling, recently interwoven strands of historical evidence indicate that a date as late as 1910 might be considered a *terminus ante quem* for a living Bushman presence at Sehonghong Shelter (ibid.: 165).

Vinnicombe added four extra human figures to the Orpen group but Smits (1973: 33) points out that she omitted "two squatting or kneeling figures in orange and fragments of two near-horizontal orange figures to the left of the scene, [and] a faded running figure on the right" (Smits 1973: 33). He goes on to describe "an elongated red and white eland, which badly confuses the lower part of the apparently superimposed scene", inferring that certain figures are interfering with the rainmaking group. Smits further observed that, "[t]he Sehonghong site contains, in addition to the Orpen scene, many other very interesting paintings, among these an elaborate cattle-scene" (1973: 33). Mitchell describes the rainmaking scene as "only part of a much larger panel that extends upward some 2 m from the rock-shelter floor" (2002: 209) and that was so unobtrusive and faded that even in 1992, when researchers were living inside the shelter, it took two complete and detailed inspections of the rock face to locate it (Peter Mitchell pers. comm. 2010). Challis also noted that the rainmaking panel is "not prominent in the shelter and one has to search carefully to find it among hundreds of other images" (2005: 15). In the published pictorial record, by contrast, the rainmaking group dominates to the virtual exclusion of all other paintings.

LOCATING THE RAINMAKING GROUP IN THE LANDSCAPE

A collectivity of interconnected sources can potentially provide much more information than an isolated image or document. However, just as the link between the copies of the Orpen lineage and the actual site was lost for a long time, links between the documentation and the original paintings could still disappear as these fade away. I set out to see if I could establish the location of the rainmaking scene within the shelter through the pictorial record alone (without visiting the site myself).

A trail of clues led me through a number of unpublished pictures. David Pearce took photographs at Sehonghong Shelter in 2004.[10] In one of these, Panel Q can be identified even though the rainmaking group is barely discernible (**Plate 2.9**). By contrast, the dark bodies of two bichrome eland stand out, forming the most obvious visual link between this and the Mitchell photograph (**Plate 2.2**). A diagonal rock ledge, part of the natural sandstone morphology above the rainmaking panel, cuts across the top left-hand corner of both photographs, constituting another common feature. In another Pearce photograph, the panel is shown from a greater distance with a young boy posing next to it (**Plate 2.10**). The eland are still discernible in this view, and white chalky writing running between the two animals (that probably reads "MANYETSE K 1959")[11] provides another clear link with the two previous photographs (**Plates 2.8**, **2.9**). The boy gives the viewer an idea of the panel's scale, and of its height off the ground. The shelter wall behind the boy appears to be receding off to the viewer's right (the boy's left). Direct sunlight falls onto the boy and part of the rock wall behind him. The shelter is located on the south bank of the Sehonghong River and faces west-northwest (P. Mitchell 1994: 15) but it is wide and deep, and none of the photographs show the sun reaching the back wall. Two site-plan sketches in the ARAL report[12] appear to indicate that Panel Q is situated somewhere in the shallower margins of the shelter, but whether it is located on the left-hand or right-hand side is unclear. Another hint to location is what looks like the tip of a free-standing rock on the far right-hand side of the bottom edge of the photograph, to the boy's left.

An oblique frontal view of the shelter taken by Bronwen van Doornum in 2005 shows an assemblage of loose rocks on the left-hand side of the shelter looking in (**Plate 2.11**). This picture includes two people standing close to the wall in the vicinity of these loose rocks, just outside of the part of the shelter that is in shadow. Just to the left of the spot one individual is gazing at, is a rock formation with oblique fissures, accentuated by shadows, that is compatible (taking into account changes of light and perspective) with the rock morphology of the wall around Panel Q visible in the previous photograph. The two figures in the 2005 photograph also provide a scaled reference. Thus, by connecting records spanning more than a century, I located the Orpen group on the left-hand side of the shelter (looking in) behind a pile of free-standing stone slabs. That I was able to establish its location and visually restore it to a more 'original' position (that is, in the context of the *ex situ* archive) and wider context, is accidental—an unintended result of its having been recorded in different ways by different people over a long period of time.

I call this 'relinking' of scattered historical records 'digital restoration' (Guy & Wintjes 2009). Digital restoration is a research process that creates meaningful relationships between previously isolated images, and is also an opportunity to create enhanced composite images—visual syntheses—that incorporate varied pictorial moments (**Plates 2.12**, **2.13**). In the chapter that follows I give a brief overview of and argument for the kind of restoration in which I engage, by discussing two further sites.

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[10] RARI.

[11] In Sesotho manyetse are locks of plaited hair. The name is probably someone's nickname, possibly a lethuela (diviner) or a Rastafarian with dreadlocks. The number probably indicates his birth year (Stephen Gill pers. comm. 2011).

[12] Unpublished 1985 site report of Lehaha La Sehonghong I (658), ARAL (RARI).

In the highlands of Basutoland in 1873, Orpen had the opportunity to discuss the rainmaking scene of Sehonghong *in situ* with one of the last members of the culture that had produced these rock paintings. Orpen did not fully understand, but nonetheless recorded, his mountain Bushman informant's explanations of what the painted composition was supposed to depict. Through his copies and the accompanying explanations, he unwittingly instigated the fruitful, long-term interpretive project to "bring together text and image to develop a nuanced and informed reading of rock art" (Leibhammer 2009: 47); in other words, he published an early foray into the fertile intersection between rock art studies and ethnography that was to have far-reaching consequences for research. Over time this linking of stories in verbal narrative to pictures ultimately led to rock pictures becoming more readable for outsiders. It also set the interpretive project on the path of a centrally semantic analysis.

This research trajectory relies heavily on several reproducible pictures through which the rainmaking group could be studied off-site. I sort the manual copies into two lineages. The first comprises a family of copies that descend from the freehand sketch created by Joseph Orpen in 1873. Because Orpen's field copy is missing, we can only judge his view of the original in pictorial terms from the appearance of the published plate, which owes much to the chromolithographic technique that was used in its reproduction. Derived versions turned the three-colour plate into a colourless diagram that has become an icon of rock art research. The second lineage originated with a polythene tracing produced by Patricia Vinnicombe in 1971, which led to the creation of a more accurate monochrome diagram and a full-colour repainting. The frequent repetition of the Orpen diagram has nonetheless persisted, effectively replacing the original painting in the literature even though they look very different. Authors nonetheless consider Orpen's diagrammatic copy to be a suitable replacement because its iconographic content is sufficiently complete for their interpretive purposes. They may also be attached to this picture because it is earlier that the Vinnicombe version, closer to the origins of the field of academic enquiry into Bushman rock art and linked to Qing's testimony, but it also illustrates an emphatic preference for verbal interpretation over visual appearance. The original rock imagery only just survives in the margins of a prominent sandstone overhang in the Lesotho highlands but is severely threatened by vandalism (or at least the continued use of the rock surface for writing or drawing of inscriptions and markings of various kinds)[13] and natural processes of deterioration.

This genealogy is representative of the history of rock art copies in the region and exemplifies how rock paintings have been isolated from their context, reproduced in a diagrammatic form and studied in a primarily non-pictorial way. Making use of a wider selection of pictorial records pertaining to Sehonghong, I relocated the rainmaking group within the rock shelter, suggesting how a technique of digital restoration can potentially restore lost visual qualities of the original. Reconciling pre-digital and digital modes of imaging in this way can enable a return to the instability and specificity of the original rock painting.

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[13] Indeed, the writing of names and dates on top of rock paintings isn't always 'vandalism' in the sense of a deliberately damaging, uncaring or disrespectful intervention, especially when rock painting sites are used in the context of initiation or other rituals. Those who produce copies feel the need to take something away from a site; others may reasonably feel the need to inscribe themselves onto the site (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012).

3

Digital restoration

A CONSTRUCTIVIST MANIFESTO

In her vision of "visual pragmatism for a virtual world", Barbara Stafford sees

> recent academic rhetoric [as] saturated with terms of rejection, revision, revolution [where] manifestos, even of renunciation, remain in short supply. Writing about what is wrong in old optical formats and new imaging technologies is relatively easy. Harder is proposing mind-opening analogies between historical displays of visual intelligence and computer-age information viewed through the eyes (1997: 3).

To explore the efficacy of images, the "imaginative possibilities of thinking in, through, and with" images, both old and new, she argues, is not anachronistic (ibid.: 10); a digital future need not entail obliterating the past. What we nevertheless can already see as being new and specific to the digital era is the rapidity and force with which it has developed, the ubiquitousness of digital technology in certain contexts and the particular way in which it interacts with traditional media, refashioning and 'repurposing' them – a process that Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin (2000) call 'remediation'. Within the particular context of the looming digital age, Bolter and Grusin identify and explore remediation's paired imperatives for "immediacy"– the effacing of the medium – and "hypermediacy" – the obsession with it. Yet remediation itself isn't new or specific to the digital era, and their investigation of its processes holds wider implications for the potential in the digital era to repair relationships and mediate between old images and new ones, to explore the role of images in history and to use images in new ways. Their work reinforces the idea that digital media are not completely displacing, overtaking or transcending older media, are not in fact completely new in kind, but have to engage in a dialectical relationship with earlier forms to make an impact.

The concept of remediation can be extended into the realm of the study of rock paintings. Although we have some access to certain aspects of understanding this pictorial tradition through anthropologically informed studies, the living context within which the rock paintings were produced has vanished, and with it the symbolic, affective and aesthetic arrangement as it was understood by the painters and other informed viewers. Nonetheless, rock paintings have continued to inspire new pictures and numerous subsequent forms of image-making technology have been deployed in order to capture or respond to them in some way for some purpose. In writing a critical history of visual recording and illustration, I seek not only to pull at the seams of existing reproductions, but to build a new visual adaptation of the ruined rock paintings after which they were modeled, one that might counter the idea of the paintings as essentially encrypted, recoverable messages about the past. There are ways in which the imagery can perhaps ultimately speak to us more directly, more on its own terms, but every generation of copy engages, not only with the original rock imagery, but also with previous visual responses to it.

The disappearance of rock paintings, as a process of pictorial and archaeological extinction, creates great anxiety (Guy & Wintjes 2009: 70). Of course, not all rock art researchers are unsettled by this loss because they embrace the idea that San rock art was constantly in production, that decaying rock paintings can be considered as engaged in a life cycle in which every stage is important, and that they are in no way diminished by their physical disintegration; paradoxically, the paintings' existence is arguably in some ways amplified in the present, because the copies, removals and research thereby generated make them known to a wider audience than ever before (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012). While I acknowledge that the restoration or reparation of rock paintings does not necessarily make them 'better' or more meaningful, the literature does often reflect a certain anxiety about loss, both in relation to the disintegration of the physical art and to the disappearance of its living context. Much research attempts to move in the direction of reparation of meaning or physical attributes, and it is within this context that I employ descriptors such as brokenness, decay, ruin or disintegration. In other words, although the impulse to repair the paintings is not the only possible perspective, it remains a deeply embedded strategy of disciplines such as archaeology to piece fragments of 'broken' things back together again in order to be able to see and study more of the whole (whatever that 'whole' may be). Moreover, although the restoration of any artwork cannot recreate it within its original and unique position in time and space (Benjamin 1936), it does put something back into place and it does teach us something about the past. Although much is lost and unrecoverable, through restoration something is gained that was not there before.

Many have searched for to remedy the disappearance of rock paintings through recording, sometimes resorting to physical removals. Some have suggested that the paintings be over- or repainted (e.g. Robin Guy pers. comm. 2006) but ideas around the paintings' material restoration on the sandstone have only been explored in a limited way. Not surprisingly, the idea is controversial and would not easily be permitted by heritage authorities or condoned by archaeologists because of legitimate concerns around cultural authenticity and archaeological integrity. If the arguments against physical restoration could be overcome, it would still necessitate specialized multi-disciplinary enquiry. Some preliminary research has been done to establish the composition of the paints (e.g. Arocena et al. 2008; Tournié et al. 2011) and experimental rock painter Stephen Townley Bassett (Bassett et al. 2008) has researched pigments, binders and other ingredients as well as application techniques, but the development of techniques appropriate for the physical repair of rock paintings is a virtually unexplored field. In view of these difficulties, the possibility of painting an archaeologically sterile cave in the style of Bushman painting was briefly explored in the context of a project to build an interpretive facility for tourists in the KwaZulu-Natal Ukhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (Frans Prins pers. comm. 2005), but the touching-up or repainting of existing rock pictures seems to present so many unresolved difficulties that it seems unlikely ever to be attempted.

The problem of the physical modification of a protected archaeological resource might to some extent be bypassed through digital visualization techniques which, without touching the rock paintings themselves, can create convincing projections of aspects of the past appearance of the paintings. This has been achieved in several exploratory projects through the study of historical copies in combination with the remnants on the rock (Le Quellec et al. 2009; Guy & Wintjes 2009; Wintjes 2011). Some consider Kevin Crause's CPED method to be a form of restoration in that it pulls into the visible realm paintings that have never even been the subject of copies because they are so difficult to see in unenhanced reality (Pippa Skotnes pers. comm. 2009; e.g. Hollmann &

Crause 2011). On another continent a life-size three-dimensional reconstruction of a painted cave can be found: the technological feat and popular tourist attraction of Lascaux II (Montignac-sur-Vézère, France) is an underground replica located in the same hill as the original and ailing Lascaux, although this is more a product of duplication than restoration. But as Cesare Brandi suggests in his foundational *Theory of restoration* (2005[1]), the boundaries between different categories such as restoration, reconstruction, recovery, reperfection, repair, replication, and so on, however well defined they are theoretically, are not always so clear in practice.

Darryl Wilkinson (2011: 36) indicates that "techniques through which discursive statements and interpretations are arrived at also matter, and they have deep histories that are in need of more detailed and reflexive engagement". It is useful to reflect on the concepts and procedures followed, however common or obvious they may seem, precisely because they are not usually questioned. Wilkinson (2011: 36) observes a deep divide (he uses the phrase "artefactual apartheid") between the methodological regimes of the classical world and that of prehistoric antiquity that still runs deep between classical and anthropological archaeologies. In classical archaeology, "restoration" once entailed an upliftment of both past and present, with the one seen to emulate the other, and restorative projects sought to reincorporate fragments into the modern world "with limited concern for fidelity to the original form of the collected object … as long as the general aesthetic was maintained" due to a perceived continuity between two worlds. The prehistoric strain of archaeology (concerned by extension with pre-colonial cultures) tended to engage in "reconstructions" which were "intended to create as near as possible a faithful and accurate model of how a monument or object would have appeared in the past" applied similarly to prehistoric peoples with no cultural continuity to the present or 'primitive' peoples seen to be on the verge of extinction. Wilkinson attributes this to different conceptualizations of the material evidence of past activities which, in the classical case, is considered prestigious and desirable to incorporate into the present as a "primarily humanistic pursuit". In the prehistoric and precolonial case, material evidence becomes an object of scientific enquiry that can be pieced together in a systematic and objective way to remake a remote and otherwise lost world. He proposes a deconstruction of these disciplinary boundaries along with the implicit assumptions they embody within methods, techniques and everyday practice:

> It is not the overt value judgments and the actual content of the knowledge that was produced *vis-à-vis* ancient pasts with which I am primarily concerned; rather it is the techniques that were thought appropriate for the production of knowledge *about* them" (2011: 27; his italics).

My study has something in common with this project, firstly because I examine how visual recording techniques have participated in an unspoken way in the production of rock art knowledge around rock paintings. On another level, I am also actively engaging in making new images and new versions of rock paintings. These are not wholly new; rather they are new arrangements of old pictures. I have used the term restoration here as elsewhere to mean the reconfiguration of the archive according to the original site of paintings. It is a study of images that circulate in the world but that are reattached to a specific part of that world. As with other kinds of restoration, it is also born from a desire to fix, replicate, or present – or simply to engage with – the broken evidence of a human past in order to afford it new relevance in the present. In the sense also that it strives to achieve something as close as possible to the "oneness" of the original work of art (Brandi 2005: 55-9), it is a restoration. My use of the term may nevertheless be a disturbing one, but I argue that the concept, even in a Western context, is often misunderstood and that it can usefully be rethought and adapted for the case of San rock paintings.

[1] A first edition was published in 1963.

True pictures are resistant to formal or figural decomposition (cf. Davis 1985: 6; Elkins 1999: 192-193) and all copies are incomplete and problematic if continually considered in isolation and at a remove from the original paintings. This does not mean that specific, even highly selective, copies are not useful, but they can work more effectively with one another when their incompleteness and selectivity are complemented by the incompleteness and selectivity of other modes. Because digitization has made old records more accessible, and because the flexibility of digital imaging already enables unprecedented levels of pictorial networking, I have called the re-linking of scattered historical records "digital restoration" (Guy & Wintjes 2009; Wintjes 2011; see also Le Quellec et al. 2009, where they refer to a methodologically similar process as a "reconstitution"). I suspect that the phrase may swiftly pass into disuse for me, if only because we are still in the early years of this digital era and denied a full understanding of its implications due to a lack of distance. For now my use of the term 'digital' situates this restorative practice within the context of the "digital imaging revolution [that] is crucially reconfiguring how we explore and comprehend ideas" among various disciplines of visual import (Stafford 1997: 4). Reproductions have generally tended to exclude information about the paintings' wider context. If the originals disappear or their location is lost, links between copies and originals can also vanish, but if the level of documented detail allows, it is possible to restore links between previously isolated elements of the archive, which has the effect of contextualizing their visuality. The 'restored' material is comparable to what Nessa Leibhammer and Carolyn Hamilton call the 'expanded archive'.[2]

In a critique of my use of the word 'restoration', Pippa Skotnes (pers. comm. 2009) raised the issue of the absence of a singular original in the case of San rock paintings, and the idea that 'an original' seems antithetical to the way in which these paintings were created, which was at times as a response to previous episodes of interaction with the rock surface. The paintings were never unified, whole, complete works of art and were continuously in the process of being created as they were being reabsorbed into the unpainted world. What is indeed dissonant is the connotation of restoration as an act of repairing a damaged artwork to an unimpaired, original or perfect condition, as it existed at a single point of time in the past. Cited above, Cesare Brandi's book of restoration theory (2005) was conceived around conventional artworks or monuments of Western traditions, and does not necessarily obviously lend itself to the consideration of non-Western art. He considered restoration to address a "fundamental aspiration of human consciousness in relation to the work of art [and] its potential unity", but of course we are now guided by more nuanced understandings that 'universal' concepts of material and visual unity are culturally constructed and not necessarily compatible with, for example, those belonging to members of hunter-gatherer communities. I nonetheless find many of his ideas translatable to other contexts, in particular those around the conscious incorporation of process and history into restorative practice.

Rock pictures appear in their present form only because the painters' communities ceased to exist towards the end of the nineteenth century (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42). The art is undoubtedly in numerous other ways unbounded, unfinishable and multi-episodic, fundamentally different from the typical Western canvas painting, which is framed, finished and created in what can, for present purposes, be considered a single episode. In the case of a traditional Western canvas painting that has deteriorated, where the appearance of the initial picture is known or can be gleaned from the remains, a restoration might entail the reparation of the painted surface so

[2] In a paper titled 'Ethnologised pasts and their archival futures: convening the archive of pre- and early colonial southern KwaZulu-Natal', presented at the South African Visual Arts Historians (SAVAH) colloquium, University of the Witwatersrand, 12-15 January 2011.

that it appears to the spectator as it did when the painter completed the picture, in other words as it was made to appear. A restoration in this vein can be accused of placing the artwork in a kind of temporal quarantine. But restoration does not always select a single state in which to freeze an artwork in shape and time; it can choose to acknowledge processes of change and the instability of the original. Brandi's claim that "[f]or restoration to be a legitimate operation it cannot presume that time is reversible or that history can be abolished" and must be considered a part of the history of the restored object (ibid.: 64), supports the notion that restoration does not strive to attain a single and stable condition or erase the visible traces left by the passage of time. As in the case of ruins, a restorer's guiding principle is not necessarily the object's prime or most complete state. In terms of a strictly formal arrangement, some rock paintings appear much better preserved than others, but many are ruinous and all are extremely vulnerable to physical decay. Rock painting sites that can be considered ruins are located at "the extreme point at which the formal arrangement that shaped matter into a work of art has almost vanished, and the monument is reduced to little more than a residue of the material that made it up" (ibid: 65). What is significant is that the temporality of ruins is dynamic:

> That is, one does not simply focus on its current condition but on its past, which informs its current presence (of little or no value in itself) and on the future for which it should be preserved as a vestige or evidence of human activity" (ibid.).

While I agree that there is no perfect condition or state to which rock paintings can be returned, I defend the concept of 'original', however, as quite simply the physical rock painting as distinct from its other iterations because it is this distinction that is so central to my work. Original does not, however, mean fixed or unchanging. Because the nature and specific history of a work of art should condition the restoration and not the other way around (ibid.: 48), the concept of restoration has to be redefined according to the specific pictorial, artistic, aesthetic qualities of the art object that is being restored (to the extent that we have access to these). A restoration of a rock painting should therefore be diachronic and not synchronic. Further, restoration is both process and product. I see the documentary record as an extension of the rock archive, and restoration creates meaningful relationships between previously isolated moments reflecting the various stages in the history of the object that need to be studied in order to reach an understanding of how it has changed. This process provides an opportunity to create enhanced composite images, visual syntheses, 'end-products' that can be more fixed, a single frame that affords an acceptable or representative summary (but not an ultimate one). Fixed images may illustrate stages in the restoration process or approximate an earlier configuration, but these are not certain to replicate the 'original', which no longer exists as it was when it was first painted or copied. Indeed, there can be more than one productmore than one legitimate version of the original. At the same time, true restoration is not an imaginative visualization where the desire to re-establish original unity extends the repair beyond what is known (which would lead to forgery, falsification or what Brandi calls "restoration by fantasy", 2005: 64), endlessly relative or embracing all possibilities: it can only be a restoration when the original, however unstable, fleeting, incomplete or elusive it will always remain, is the unifying and guiding principle.

A true restorer must resist the temptation to create a single, authoritative, seamless image out of unsettling fragments, however enticing such an image can be. In its restored form, an artwork is not reducible to one unbroken, consolidated, flat visual synthesis. Because it is linked to other moments in time and space, it is no longer strictly two-dimensional. Digitally restored images published in a paper-bound format such as this can be imagined as stills from an animated

sequence. They are malleable and can be adjusted depending on the needs of the viewer. They do not stand on their own and their dynamism is perhaps best expressed in a moving format.

FRAMED/UNFRAMED

A first step in the restoration of rock paintings is to undo the frames that have been imposed from the outside. Each time a copy is drawn, photograph taken or painted slab removed, a new 'framed' image is created, deprived of its original context, source or referent. Skotnes sums up the problem:

> There is no way in which the copyist can avoid the artificial framing of his or her translation. There is no escape from the rectangle, the Albertian panoptic frame which, once it had rendered the world in terms of one-point perspective, irrevocably shifted the way in which we see and understand. … For the San in pre-colonial times, being in the landscape was to live outside the Albertian frame (2010: 24).

As one of the curators of 'Rock art made in translation', an exhibition of historical copies of parietal imagery,[3] Skotnes was intent on presenting:

> …the copies as they were framed, paying attention to the paper use, the edges of each sheet, the ways in which images were composed by the copyist. Images have been chosen that reveal, quite unequivocally, the style and method of the copyisthis or her own handfor in this revelation the bias of the translator is partially revealed (2010: 25).

Her desire to show that all copies of rock art images already constitute an important but, in terms of theorization, neglected level of interpretation is similar to my point of departure in this thesis: I concur that to some extent it is possible to assess the kinds of translation at work by looking inside the frames, within what Charles Bernstein calls the "hypoframe, inhering within each frame of interpretation" (1999: 44). But an understanding of deeper levels of interpretation can only be attained by considering the framed images within the (still framed, but in multiple frames and a wider perspective) environment of the larger originals of which they were once part.

The definition of frame implied here is one very familiar in the recent history of Western art: a supporting and surrounding structure, usually square or rectangular, into which a picture is placed for viewing. It is a widespread phenomenon underpinning a new framed visuality that has flourished over the last few hundred years. I cannot consider here the history of frames in any detail, but at the approximate one-hundred-thousand-year scale of the putative 'origins of art', imposed orthogonal frames around representational images appeared only very recently through increasingly elaborately constructed human environments and the 'windows' or 'mirrors' thereby created onto and of the world.

Tracing the history of the frame from the Renaissance scholar Leon Battista Alberti's famous metaphoric comparison of the window and the frame in 1435 through to the "virtual windows" of "spatially and temporally fractured frames" of the present day, Anne Friedberg (2009) examines how in the contemporary context, the frame, in the converging form of books, cameras, film, computer screens and so forth, has become endemic, ubiquitous and completely taken for granted. Yet the fact that the world is framed – and how it is framed – has become as important to consider as what is placed within the frame.

The frame in Western painting has famously been interrogated by Jacques Derrida (1987) through the concept of "parergon" in his far-reaching reflections on the boundaries of the artwork.

[3] Iziko South African Museum, November 2010 to September 2011.

Another word and concept for frame, *parergon* is "neither work (*ergon*) nor outside the work, neither inside or outside, neither above nor below, it disconcerts any opposition but does not remain indeterminate and it *gives rise* to the work" (1987: 9, his emphasis). Various scholars have raised the issue of the difficulties of studying parietal art from within a culture where the frame is so ubiquitous as to be practically invisible, for example researchers from within the shamanistic interpretive tradition (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990: 5; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42) or more visually focused approaches (e.g. Nettleton 1985; Helskog 2010). But few, if any, have attempted to examine exactly how they themselves place visual frames around the rock images that they study. It is this simultaneously highly influential and self-effacing role of the frame that Derrida is interested in:

> No 'theory', no 'practice', no 'theoretical practice' can intervene effectively in this field [of thinking art] if it does not weigh up and bear on the frame, which is the decisive structure of what is at stake, at the invisible limit to (between) the interiority of meaning (put under shelter by the whole of hermeneuticist, semioticist, phenomenologicalist, and formalist tradition) and (to) all the empiricisms of the extrinsic which, incapable of either seeing or reading, miss the question completely (1987: 61).

Frames create, decontextualize, recontextualize and remake pictures. Frames are placed around rock painted figures in photographs; in field sketchbooks; by sheets of tracing paper; in redrawings; on the published pages of a journal or book; on the screen of a computer; in slide projections. Removed rock paintings, simultaneously image artefacts and archaeological objects, are framed by the storage facility, exhibition space, museum display or lecture theatre.

Visually and intuitively one can understand how such acts of framing played themselves out, for similar events take place every day, each time a sketch, photograph, printout or screen capture is produced. To explain it in words or to act it out consciously is more challenging. In an attempt to address this challenge, I contextualize numerous framed views of rock paintings in the course of this research. For each of my case-studies I have produced visualizations that comprise an assemblage of the available pictorial records (presented here in a sequence of plates) allowing the original sites and paintings to be (re)imagined more as wholes from a starting point of disconnected pictures. These multiple sets of views function as a 'meta-frame' or 'hyperframe', in "a practice of moving from frame to frame" (Bernstein 1999: 44) enabling us to think about frames in relation to one another and in relation to the original unframed work of art. While it is not possible to transcend the frame completely within a book-like format such as this, I point wherever possible to the wider context. It would be equally beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt a 'comprehensive' description of the sites' paintings, but what I wish to achieve is to emphasize the importance of considering the paintings in context.

I wonder about the extent to which it might be possible to restore views of rock paintings according to their own internal visual logic, without any inappropriate reorganization in terms of an anachronistic style or aesthetic as in the case of classical restoration described above, but with a view to incorporate them into the present. On the other hand, the alternative option does not have to be to reconstruct and objectify them as "static residues of a lost [prehistoric or precolonial] past" (Wilkinson 2011: 36); it might acknowledge the dynamic, distant and familiar natures of the past. I suggest that to gaze back towards the unstable and unrecoverable original through its remains and through its proxies can go some way to forge a new kind of restoration that does both, or neither.

4.1

Cingati: locating eBusingatha in the early documentary sources

EBUSINGATHA'S ENTRY INTO THE DOCUMENTARY REALM

My second case study is a more substantial archival history of an entire painted rock shelter. Situated in the AmaZizi Traditional Authority Area of the Upper Tugela Location, northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg (**Map 4**), it is one of KwaZulu-Natal's "problem rock art sites", a painted shelter to which Hollmann and Msimanga (2008) have brought renewed attention. Over an undetermined period in the past,[1] rock painters elaborated figures on the surfaces of its natural stone architecture, creating a point of interest in the landscape for all those who came afterwards—local inhabitants, travellers, photographers, archaeologists, artists and other users of the landscape. By the 1940s it was suffering so badly from visitor-related vandalism and other damage that authorities took measures to dismantle and remove a number of panels to a nearby building in the hope of preserving the parietal imagery in this more controlled environment. Intended to salvage and protect, these officially sanctioned measures instead propelled the shelter into an irreversibly fractured state. On the other hand, the fact that the site attracted so much attention and was recorded by different people at different times meant that information about it accumulated elsewhere. As a result the site no longer exists in one place. Its disintegration can be tracked through collections and archives on two continents. In this chapter I track the site's early archival trail to uncover when and how it was first 'discovered' and documented.

In 1935, the Government of the Union of South Africa established the Bureau of Archaeology within the Department of the Interior, the first dedicated governmental structure for organized archaeological research. The University of the Witwatersrand was chosen as the site of the Bureau's headquarters and directorship was awarded to Clarence van Riet Lowe (b.1894–d.1956), a civil engineer by training, who metamorphosed through personal interest into a prehistorian and an archaeologist (Malan 1962: 39).

In his new post as head of the Bureau, Van Riet Lowe initiated a project titled "Prehistoric Art in South Africa" with a view to establishing "the first comprehensive account of the distribution of

[1] The dating and chronology of rock art sites is a perennial problem and has not for this shelter been considered in any detail. Windows of time can, however, be blocked out based on subject matter, and images of long-horned cattle at eBusingatha could have been painted from 600 AD onwards, more likely appearing after 1300 AD, and prior to the 1830s (Manhire et al. 1986: 27). Van Riet Lowe (c.1947) suggested a chronological sequence for the site's various panels but did not assign dates to it.

prehistoric rock engravings and paintings in South Africa" (Van Riet Lowe 1952: 1). Several open letters were printed and circulated through the Department of the Interior requesting assistance from the public at large. Many people across the country responded, showing a keen interest in sharing information about rock art sites of which they knew. Outcomes of this project include the first country-wide lists of rock art sites, published as several small booklets compiled primarily from this correspondence (Van Riet Lowe 1941, 1952). Van Riet Lowe requested that informants provide the name and number of the farm or reserve, the landowner's name and address, and the district and province. As a result, the official list was essentially a register of cadastral entities, while the letters, filed chronologically in the correspondence files, sometimes contained more detail about the sites.[2] Over time, official place names changed and sometimes more than one site per cadastral entity was recorded, especially for the larger units such as the Upper Tugela Location. In the early 1970s a national site-numbering system was established at the Archaeological Data Recording Centre (ADRC) located at the South African Museum (Cape Town). In 1978, the allocation of national site numbers devolved to the provinces[3] and the Natal Museum[4] was established as the official regional recording centre in Natal. Evidently, for certain sites, the paper trail was by this time too long and archival continuity broken; as a result, a certain number of 'empty' national site numbers still appear in the provincial database, ghosts of Van Riet Lowe's sites of which nothing other than a vague locality is known.

In 1936, Gilbert Randles wrote to Van Riet Lowe on the subject of painting sites in the vicinity of the Natal National Park that he was familiar with. He described several lesser known localities, but referred to one of them as "the well known cave where a serpent is depicted" (**Plate 4.1.1**). How this particular cave initially came to be "well known" is still unclear but it was visited by rock art enthusiasts from at least the early 1920s. Commercial photographer Harry Cecil Birkenseth Wylde-Browne (b.1886–d.1962)[5] also wrote to Van Riet Lowe about "a large group with great snake ... in the lower Cingati Valley" last visited in 1923.[6] His visits during the early 1920s (possibly earlier) are the first of which I have found documentary evidence although there were undoubtedly numerous other visitors.[7]

Wylde-Browne was a keen photographer of mountain landscapes among other subjects, and was the creator of tourist postcards for the Natal Drakensberg and surrounding area (**Plate 4.1.2**). The context of his interest in the Drakensberg was a new and growing phenomenon of mountain tourism that began in the early years of the twentieth century (Wright & Mazel 2007: 127). The growth of the railway played an important role and the train stations that were opened at Van Reenen (1891), Winterton (1907), Bergville (1914) and elsewhere made the northern areas of the Berg more easily accessible than the central and southern areas.

[2] In 1944, the Bureau became the Archaeological Survey and correspondence files accumulated in the course of the project (1935-56) can be found in the Archaeological Survey archive (ASW), National Archives Repository, Pretoria (Vol. 70-73, several files numbered B24).

[3] Internal Natal Museum document 'ADRC National Site Numbers' by Val Ward (2005).

[4] This institution has recently renamed itself KwaZulu-Natal Museum, but I use the old name where I speak about the institution in its earlier form and where it is consistent with my sources.

[5] This is his full name according to the Campbell Collections database (viewed 27 September 2011); internet genealogies indicate that his third name was Biggarsteth, e.g. http://www.soltenviva.com/hawfamily/b115.htm#P181/ (viewed 30 October 2011).

[6] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 3 February 1937. RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002).

[7] Graffiti dates visible in photographs taken by the Frobenius expedition in 1929 include 1922, 1923 and 5/2/20.

eBusingatha was located on a "native reserve", a remnant of the "Kahlamba Location", a much larger tract of land initially set up by colonial authorities as a buffer zone of black African farmers along the Drakensberg foothills, protecting white settlers from the "Bushman raiders" who operated out of the mountains during the 1840s to 1870s (Wright 1971). As the Natal Drakensberg's hunter-gatherers-turned-raiders were increasingly marginalized, white settlers began to occupy land closer to the escarpment. The native locations were reshaped and reduced by the director of native affairs, Theophilus Shepstone (b.1817–d.1893), and other members of the Location Commission according to the principle of marking out locations in areas already inhabited by Africans but not claimed by white farmers (Etherington 1989: 170-2). Thus, parts of the Kahlamba Location were converted to private white ownership and areas of customary African authority were whittled down to smaller "Drakensberg Locations".

During the early years of the Natal administration the locations were in reality shape-shifting entities without clear boundaries but by the end of the 1900s the northernmost locations were consolidated as the Upper Tugela Location, the name by which it is still known today, near the town of Upper Tugela, founded in 1897 and renamed Bergville during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1903). This location incorporated several older African farming communities probably already established there in the Late Iron Age such as the Zizi (Whitelaw 2009: 152-3). Under the resettlement schemes of the Apartheid era, plans were made to move the African populations out of the Upper Tugela Location, but these removals never materialized due to fears of violence emerging from the increasingly restless African reserves (Wright & Mazel 2007: 140-2). Thus, for reasons that changed over time, but that were linked to the communities of black farming communities established there in pre-colonial times, the Upper Tugela Location was never absorbed into the private farms and subsequent forestry and nature reserves to the north-west and south. Yet it comprises the same dramatic landscape sloping down from the high basalt escarpment: steep river valleys of grassy, fynbos-like vegetation separated by spurs of sandstone outcrops. The rock shelters hollowed out of these sedimentary formations shelter the same rock paintings that occur in such great numbers within the parks. Because it is a community landscape and not a protected area, it is not formally part of the Ukhahlamba-Drakensberg Park, declared a World Heritage Site in 2000. Another fundamental difference is that, within the parks, painted shelters have tended to remain more 'pristine', whereas within the Upper Tugela Location they have continued to be used in the course of the local inhabitants' daily lives, adding additional layers of markings to the shelters' walls, and artefacts and layers of deposit to their floors. In olden times, the Zizi had a "history of close interaction with the San … [which] should probably be expected at the farming frontier, far from areas of significant agricultural productivity and political centralisation" (Whitelaw 2009: 153), pointing to the potential in this area for more in-depth interaction studies. Its history as a black location has further had an impact on the accessibility of rock art sites for outsiders to the area.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, activities for holidaymakers in the Drakensberg included trout fishing and climbing the peaks (Wright & Mazel 2007: 127), but Bushman paintings were also an attraction, featuring in railway guides from early on (Harrison 1903: 84, 215-6). For tourists venturing into this landscape, the cave with its painted serpent was an easy and attractive destination: it was positioned low down in a domesticated environment of traditional homesteads and cultivated fields, along a well-worn track through relatively level terrain, about five kilometres from its junction with the road from Bergville (**Fig. 4.1.2**).

The road wove its way further up the valley and ended at a small private hostel on Goodoo Farm, one of the earliest resorts in the Drakensberg (Wright & Mazel 2007:127). Tucked away in the north-western corner of Natal, a "quintet of farms and adjacent patches of Crown land" were declared protected areas to form a 3300-hectare park by 1916; by 1950, several neighbouring farms were added to attain the present-day area of 8094 hectares (Briggs: 2008: 36). Known as the Natal National Park, it was bounded to the west by the Orange Free State border, a sheer escarpment untraversable by car, and to the east by the edge of the Upper Tugela Location, creating an unusual situation in which one had to travel alongside black community land to reach the holiday destination. The accommodation facilities developed incrementally over the decades from a hostel into a luxury hotel.[8] The monarchical predicate was added to its name following the visit of the British king and his family in 1947; henceforth it was known as the Royal Natal National Park.[9] It is likely that one of the recreational activities on offer at the hostel from early on was a guided visit to the old cave with the serpent, frequented despite the fact that it was located outside the park. In 1936 the geologist Louis Fermor reported that

> [a]s this interesting cave is outside the boundary of the National Park it is not within the control of the proprietor of the National Park Hostel, even if it were his duty to look after the preservation of the cave paintings within the National Park. I did not myself visit the paintings within the National Park but I understand that the Singati paintings are the most important in the neighbourhood, and therefore worthy of preservation.[10]

Even though it was an easy hike, the site's location within a "native reserve" probably made it an adventurous option. One might imagine that there are, somewhere out there, photographs displayed in family holiday albums from the 1920s and 1930s, yet the early documentary evidence I have found in official archives within South Africa is scanty. It includes three photographs taken by Wylde-Browne likely dating from the early 1920s (**Plates 4.1.3** and **4.1.4**) and a number of references to the site in the correspondence of the Bureau of Archaeology beginning in 1935.[11]

FROM MEANINGLESS JUMBLE TO MOTIF

Wylde-Browne had a particular fascination for rock painting photography, although he admitted that it was not "what one could call a selling line".[12] Despite the limited commercial value of such photographs, he used his own resources to travel to sites and to acquire and develop the technical skills and aspects of producing prints that rendered rock paintings more clearly. His labour-intensive procedure involved second-generation negatives derived from the original glass plates that the photographer could retouch (by drawing, etching or dying) in order to modify the final prints without modifying the first-generation material; these were known as "copy negatives". Wylde-Browne typically began with an overexposed version of the original image, a background against which he darkened and accentuated the painted figures with darker and smoother traits; in this way

[8] Gleaned from various EKZNW files.

[9] One of the major historic hotels of the Natal Drakensberg, it has been lying unused since 2000.

[10] In a letter to Sydney Haughton, 14 October 1936. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[11] ASW (primarily Vol. 73 B24/4). The files are patchy in places and some of the missing letters can be found on file at RARI. Presumably these were removed before the files were transferred to NASA following the closure of the Survey in 1962.

[12] Letters from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 29 March 1937. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4); 3 February 1937. RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002).

he retained the natural texture of the rock while emphasizing the figures in salient, unambiguous terms. Retouched photographs such as these were intermediate between mechanical and manual copying techniques. He considered the presentation of "unimproved" photographs problematic:

> What is to be done then when one discovers a splendid picture depicting say a hunting scene when that very scene has been painted over others? To submit without improving [and] clarifying would be to offer a picture of a meaningless jumble of figures, animals, etc. I have spent days making an enlarged print, blotting out the other stuff, strengthening the main figures of interest [and] finally producing something with a "motif" in it. I am told I am wrong! [And] all this for the lordly fee of 12/6![13]

Because of the doctored appearance of his copy-negative prints, their genuineness was at times questioned. He responded to this scepticism with incomprehension and disdain, defending the necessity to interpret the paintings graphically and expressing great respect for the artistic and technological abilities of the inferiorly treated Bushmen. He felt quite strongly that his enhanced copies were "correct", challenging anybody to prove that he had inserted anything that was not there. He did, however, admit to being guilty of "a wee bit of substraction", which he was "compelled to do for the sake of decency." Wylde-Browne prepared a set of copy-negative prints that he offered for sale to various parties[14] but was perplexed by repeated requests from academic institutions for "copies without the organs being removed ... for their own 'research'". [15] He also took photographs of other subjects of ethnographic and archaeological nature (Vinnicombe 2009: 11).[16] Sadly for the rest, however, his family did not keep his records (ibid.: 20, n.54).

WYLDE-BROWNE AT LOWER CINGATI

In 1937, Wylde-Browne sent a set of sixteen photographic prints "on appro" to Van Riet Lowe, accompanied by some written detail about the images' sites of origin.[17] The largest format photograph he sent was the one of a "large group with great snake" situated in the "Lower Cingati Valley" (**Plate 4.1.3**). The enhanced copy-negative print shows a wide and flat rock-wall covered by a large herd of eland interspersed with human figures. Across the centre of the left side of the image stretches a long serpent, the greater part of its body lying in a straight, almost horizontal position with a gentle bulge in the middle. Lying in a wide 'U' formation, the snake's round head curves up on the left side and its tail curves up on the right. This image is clearly a photograph because of the way it picks up the rock texture, but at the same time it appears altered because of the smoothness and contrast of the figural motifs in relation to the background; this is the 'copy-negative' effect. Compared with

[13] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 27 March 1947, ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[14] Wylde-Browne submitted prints of rock paintings to institutions in South Africa and abroad, including the Archaeological Survey, the Johannesburg Museum (now Museum Africa), the (South African) Monuments Commission and the Illustrated London News. The Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology has three unretouched prints. His work warrants more in-depth study.

[15] Letter written by Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 3 February 1937, RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002). This moral prurience is also visible in the work of other copyists and also brings to mind Abbé Breuil's famous omission of the male gender of the "White Lady of the Brandberg".

[16] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 25 February 1938, ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[17] Letter written by Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 3 February 1937, RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002). Other sites photographed by Wylde-Browne include Cascades Rock (NSN: 2828DB 044), Kerr's Shelter at Mtshezane (NSN: 2929BA 018), two unidentified sites in the Free State near Van Reenen and Swinburne respectively, and a possible fifth site of unknown whereabouts.

other copy-negative prints produced by Wylde-Browne, however, this is one of the more natural in appearance, because the rock texture is not as bleached out and the painted figures do not appear to float in front of it to the extent that they do in other examples of his work (**Plate 4.1.8**). [18]

Van Riet Lowe ordered a full set of prints for the records of the Bureau of Archaeology.[19] The image of the snake panel – the largest print format and most natural in appearance – was the one that most moved Van Riet Lowe. He qualified it as "really excellent" and expressed the wish to have an additional copy for his office. This was the first time he had seen paintings from the Lower Cingati shelter and he felt he wanted to do something straight away towards their preservation.[20]

Based on Wylde-Browne's reports, Van Riet Lowe included the shelter in his index of sites (Van Riet Lowe 1941: 28). Not long afterwards he made the link between the snake panel photographed there by Wylde-Browne and a painted copy that appears in *Madsimu Dsangara*, a double-volume publication produced following the Frobenius expedition to southern Africa (Frobenius 1931a: Tafel 127). A further seven painted copies from the same rock-shelter appear in this book (ibid.: Tafeln 96, 103, 104, 105, 107, 114, 116). The "standard reference books" Van Riet Lowe had knowledge of at the time[21] must have included this book, as several of his 1945 tracings are annotated "cf. Frobenius "MADSIMU DSANGARA"" (**Plate 4.4.8**).[22] Frobenius referred to this cave as "Cinyati".

CINYATI CAVE AND THE FROBENIUS EXPEDITION TO NATAL

It is typical for field research to produce a surplus of data. The Frobenius expedition created a more comprehensive body of documentation at Cinyati Cave than that which was published, including additional pictorial copies, photographs and field notes. Qualifying as the first true site recording, this documentary body is the singularly most important early source for this cave, and is archived at the Frobenius Institute (Frankfurt-am-Main). The expedition to southern Africa (1928–1930) was the ninth of twelve research journeys into Africa organized by the eccentric ethnographer Leo Frobenius during his long, industrious, influential and controversial career (Haberland 1973: XIV). The expedition comprised nine members (**Plate 4.3.1**) and in Frobenius's words its principal objectives were:

1. ethnological research into southern Erythraean cultures,

2. the [study of the] development and excavations of the ancient so-called "Zimbabwe" ruins,

3. the study of old mines,

4. to locate and copy the thousands of so-called "Bushman drawings", i.e. rock art, spread out across the land (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 87, my translation).

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[18] In several of the chapters the plate numbering is not strictly sequential in relation to the text because I have organized the pictures in the second volume to some extent according to their own internal sequence. This is consistent with one of the major themes of the thesis: the competing logics between the verbal (and numerical) and visual.

[19] At around the same time he sold the same set to the Johannesburg Museum (MA 571-7).

[20] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Wylde-Browne, 9 February 1937. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[21] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to John Young, 13 April 1937. Ibid.

[22] RARI (VRL archive).

The fourth objective was probably sparked by the growing interest in the rock art of the sub-continent shown by authors writing for an audience outside of Africa, including, among other languages, publications in German (e.g. Mäder 1908; Moszeik 1910; Schweiger 1913; Zelizko 1925).

Fulfilling the fourth objective was the most time-consuming and each expedition member in some way assisted in locating, photographing and investigating the images, while the most important copies and rubbings were created by the painters and illustrators on the expedition: Joachim Lutz, Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Agnes Susanne Schulz, Maria Weyersberg and Leo Frobenius himself (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 87). Images produced under Frobenius's direction are frequently attributed to him and in South Africa it is not widely known that he did not produce all the copies himself, or even visit all the sites he published. In order to cover more ground, the expedition split up into smaller groups and visited an unprecedented number of rock painting and engraving sites across South Africa, including Natal, the Cape Province and Orange Free State, as well as sites in Basutoland, Rhodesia and South-West Africa. This impressive body of work is still unrivalled in terms of its geographic coverage, and the large formats and numbers of colour copies produced, only a small portion of which have been published (Frobenius 1931a; Frobenius & Fox 1937; Keene 2010). Small monochrome diagrams of individual figures derived from the colour copies have been published elsewhere (e.g. Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930; Haberland 1973; Jahn 1974). *Madsimu Dsangara* (Frobenius 1931a), the major two-volume publication produced from ninth-expedition materials, is subtitled a "chronicle" but it presents the final overarching research findings rather than the narrative details of the journey. Little research has been carried out into how the Frobenius expedition to southern Africa was organized (Richard Kuba pers. comm. 2010), although a preliminary chronological structure has been sketched out, drawing from several sources.[23] The fact that the language of the archive is German and the archive is located in Germany has also meant it has been less readily usable for researchers in South Africa; however, interest appears to be growing, as a recent exhibition at the Iziko South African Museum shows (Skotnes 2010).[24] The Frobenius archive has become more accessible since digitization began in 2006; since early 2010 many items have been accessible through an online catalogue.[25] Some more technically challenging visual material still awaits digitization and numerous travel journals and notebooks lie on the shelves of the Frobenius Institute as a largely untapped archival source.

The Natal leg of the expedition was carried out by a team comprising Maria Weyersberg, Elisabeth Mannsfeld and Agnes Susanne Schulz. They belonged to a larger community of early female ethnologists and ethnographers working for the Frobenius Institute and were also involved with some of Frobenius's other expeditions (Beer 2006). While Schulz worked as scientific illustrator for the Frobenius Institute from 1923 to 1959, and Weyersberg from 1925 to 1951,[26] only very scant and scattered published biographic information exists for them (Richard Kuba pers. comm. 2009). Mannsfeld (b.1891–d.1971), however, followed a different trajectory. She worked for the Institute during the 1920s but returned to southern Africa soon after the expedition and became

[23] Unpublished document entitled 'DIAFE 009 Südafrika'. FIF.

[24] An exhibition curated by Pippa Skotnes and Petro Keene entitled "Rock art made in translation: framing images from and of the landscape", November 2010 to March 2012 (with an extension).

[25] bildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de

[26] Source: www.frobenius-institut.de/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=212&Itemid=239 (online list of former staff, last viewed 31 October 2011).

an important figure in rock art research in Rhodesia under her married name Elizabeth Goodall (Cooke 1971; Raath 1971).[27]

The expedition arrived in Cape Town in the latter part of 1928 and set up a research base in a large house at "Eloffs Estate" near Pretoria.[28] Before Christmas, the three women travelled to Basutoland and returned to Pretoria for the holidays.[29] Their first excursion in the new year took them to Natal from January 17 to 24 February 1929. As Leo Frobenius and other members of the expedition were travelling during that time in Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, the three women completed the Natal leg on their own.[30]

During their five weeks in Natal, the three women recorded eleven sites (sites N.1. to N.11, Schulz 1929: 1). The painted copies were catalogued and a list was published soon after the expedition (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 138-142) and I have created an itinerary structure for their journey into Natal (**Annex I**). Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg found accommodation at the Natal National Park Hostel from 21 January to 3 February (**Plate 4.1.2**). They first visited and documented three sites within the Natal National Park and, from 28 January to 3 February, they carried out daily excursions on horseback outside the boundaries of the park to the place they called "Cinyati" (Weyersberg 1929b).

LOWER CINGATI, CINYATI, EBUSINGATA, EBUSINGATHA

The name 'Cinyati'—variously spelled Inyati, Cinyati, Sinyati, Zinyati or Zynjati in unpublished Frobenius sources (Schulz 1929; Weyersberg 1929a, 1929b, 1929c; I include my translations of these manuscripts in **Annex VI** to **IX**)—is not immediately recognizable as akin to 'Busingatha', the name by which the valley is more commonly known today. Because it is a transcription of a Zulu place name that refers to many different things in the valley as well as the valley itself, it has been and continues to be written in many different forms, as in for example Msinyati stream,[31] Sinyati caves,[32] Cingati Rock Painting,[33] Cingati Valley (Van Riet Lowe 1941: 28), Singati Valley,[34] Singati Wall,[35]

[27] The fact that Elisabeth Mannsfeld and Elizabeth Goodall were the same person is well known (e.g. Frobenius 1931a: 36, Pager 1962: 45, Jono Waters pers. comm. 2010) but the links between her German heritage and role in the development of rock art research in Rhodesia have not to my knowledge been studied.

[28] Unpublished document entitled 'DIAFE 009 Südafrika'. FIF. From a Frobenius-archive photograph, Mauritz Naudé (pers. comm. 2011) identified this house as the since-demolished Villa Francina, in the suburb of Eloffsdal, directly north of the city centre.

[29] I have extracted further details of this journey from notebooks kept by Schulz (1929) and Weyersberg (1929a, b, and c).

[30] Maps of the 1928–30 expedition show a leg going to Durban (Frobenius 1931b: rear foldout, Haberland 1973: fig.1) but I haven't yet established if this is accurate, and if so, who went to Durban and when. Several sketches of drawings are annotated in Schulz's handwriting as "nach Kopie im Mus[-eum] Durban" but also "Presented by H. Redfern Loades" (for example Reg-Nr FBA-A1 09-016, 019 and 020) so whether these were actually produced by Schulz in Durban is uncertain.

[31] Letter from Randles to Van Riet Lowe, 18 September 1936. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[32] Newspaper cutout titled "Preserving Bushman paintings", *The Star*, 12 November 1946. Ibid.

[33] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 23 February 1937. Ibid.

[34] Letter from Fermor to Haughton, 14 October 1936. Ibid.

[35] Hiking Map No.1 for Royal Natal – Mnweni – Rugged Glen, first edition published by Natal Parks Board and Geomap (1997).

Busingatha Wall, Busingatha Cave and eBusingatha River,[36] Singati or Busingati Cave[37], Ebusingata Valley (Van Riet Lowe 1952: 31), Ebusingata Cave (Van Riet Lowe c.1947) and eBusingata Shelter (Manhire et al. 1986: 27). Today 'eBusingatha' is the accepted form of the toponym (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008). Koopman (1984: 297) has noted this particular place name as an "extreme example" of the plethora of different forms in which Zulu place names can occur.

In the early documentary record, the variety of spellings would have arisen out of not knowing how to transcribe unfamiliar sounds appropriately in the absence of standardized rules of orthography or official place names, and out of colonial ignorance and indifference. This might, however, be excused for early and especially transient travellers writing in uncomfortable field situations with no access to reference books or authoritative sources on the Zulu language. Shaky handwritten transcriptions could be re-transcribed into other forms, and the faulty transcription eventually turned into apparently more authoritative typeface and copied and recopied by later scholars. But even today, despite efforts to standardize Zulu orthography, toponymic slipperiness is still endemic. Other factors that contribute to this, Koopman argues, are inherent in the Zulu language: for example variations in noun prefix usage and in the use of locative forms, intriguing orthographical problems that remain unresolved (Koopman 1984, 2002: ch.7).

An understanding of these different spellings is important when trying to establish an unambiguous location for the particular rock art site under discussion. One might begin with the hypothesis that the name Busingatha is related to the verb *singatha*, meaning to support, hold in one's arms, embrace or hug. Many valleys do this of course, but perhaps this one was perceived as particularly embracing and supportive; the frequent use of the personal suffix *-i* (as in Singati and Cingati) suggests a strong personification. In order to derive names from verbs in Zulu there are a number of different prefixes and suffixes that can be added to the verb stem. Place names commonly begin with prefixes such as *um* or *umu* but *ubu* also occurs; *ebu* may be a variant. Alternatively, the letter *e-* is a common locative prefix, but it is almost always accompanied by a suffix such as *-ini* or *-eni*; the apparent deviance from this rule in the case of 'Ebusingata' may well be explained by the afore-mentioned inconsistencies in the use of locative forms. The replacement of *t* with *th* was introduced in 1949 by the Zulu Language Board when they approved the inclusion of *h* in aspirated stops (e.g. Ebusingatha). In the 1970s language authorities ruled that initial vowel sounds be included in written forms of Zulu place names and that the capital letter should be the first consonant (e.g. eBusingatha). Another official process that may have influenced current spellings took place during the 1980s when Koopman suspects "someone high up in the Natal Provincial Administration" took the curious decision to lop off the initial vowels of river and related place-names on signboards and this would explain odd forms beginning with *Bu* (Koopman 2002: 114).[38] For forms such as Sinyati and Zinyati there may even be some influence from the Zulu word "inyathi" (buffalo) especially as this is found in a number of other place names, for example the River uMzinyathi ("home of the buffalo").

This orthographical trajectory has so far been limited to different variations of what is essentially the same toponym. However it is spelled, as Hollmann and Msimanga (2008: 285)

[36] 1:50,000 topocadastral map '2828DD Mont-Aux-Sources', second edition 1979, issued by the Surveyors-General.

[37] Hiking Map No.1 for Royal Natal – Mnweni – Rugged Glen, first edition published by Natal Parks Board and Geomap (1997).

[38] This paragraph derives also from a discussion with Adrian Koopman between February and October 2011.

point out, it is a confusing name for just one painted shelter because it refers to the valley as a whole as well as potentially any smaller significant locality within it. There are five Ebusingata Valley sites listed in Van Riet Lowe's second index of sites (1952: 31) and today there is a total of eighteen recorded rock art sites in the valley.[39] Van Riet Lowe referred to this site as 'Ebusingata Main Shelter' (**Plate 4.1.1**) or Ebusingata Cave No. 1 (**Plate 4.4.11**). It is uncertain whether Van Riet Lowe visited any of the other sites in the valley, for he may have entered them into the index relying solely on the correspondence he received. Other than one site higher up the valley that I have been able to identify (dealt with below and in the next chapter), I have not found any further information on the identity of the other Ebusingata Valley sites known in Van Riet Lowe's days.[40]

Perhaps the confusion caused when a general name is used for a specific place can most simply be explained in terms of an etic vs. emic nomenclature: the use of generalizing names imposed on the landscape from outside as opposed to names used by local inhabitants who possess a more complex insider knowledge of that landscape. Another amusing example of this dilemma is another rock shelter known as 'Singati' or 'Busingati Cave', the only cave in the valley to be indicated on a current hiking map.[41] An entirely different site from the eBusingatha of archaeological renown, it is located further upstream (about eight kilometres) along a well-worn trail and is commonly used for overnighting by hikers *en route* to the escarpment. It also contains paintings but they are not anywhere near the same quantity or quality. While conducting fieldwork in the area in 2008, members of the community-based Mdlankomo Rock Art Monitoring Group clearly did not know what I was talking about when I spoke of '(Bu)singati Cave'. When we finally arrived at the place indicated on the map they told me it was known to them as *Iwa labelungu*, meaning "cliff of the white people" (Petros Ngwane and Muzi Msimanga pers. comm. 2008). The "white people" to whom the name refers are the (almost invariably white) recreational hikers who use this cave for camping.

While this nomenclative meander reflects the interesting history of Zulu orthography and toponymy over the last ninety years, it did not solve the problem of how to choose a definitive name for this site. The most tenable position is to accept that different naming strategies are possible. Each of the various appellations sets a historical precedent in the literature. Each also encapsulates the painted cave at different moments as it was reshaped through time, also designating the archives created along the way that have an existence of their own. In the hope, perhaps quite vain, of attaining greater clarity, I use 'eBusingatha' when referring to the painted shelter in a general (contemporary) context (cf. Hollmann & Msimanga 2008), and other forms when speaking about the site in its various historical and archival incarnations (**Annex II**).

Naming, numbering and documenting sites—recording their identity effectively—is always a challenge. Old primary archaeological documents are often neglected or lost while only a small, superficial or highly translated portion of the information is published. Aided by new technologies,

[39] KZNM database.

[40] A number of sites are listed in the KZNM database as Van Riet Lowe's 'Ebusingatavallei' sites (NSN: 2829AD 003, 2829AD 004, 2829CA 012, 2829CA 013, 2829CB 001, 2829CB 002 and 2829CB 003) with no further details. Originally allocated by the ADRC, these numbers were transferred to the Natal Museum when the recording centre was provincialized. Map numbers 2829CB and 2829AD for Ebusingata sites must be erroneous, because the valley is located across maps 2828DB, 2828DD, 2829CA and 2829CC.

[41] Hiking Map No. 1 for Royal Natal – Mnweni – Rugged Glen, first edition published by Natal Parks Board and Geomap (1997).

sites can nowadays more easily be recorded more holistically, descriptively and accurately in the landscape, using digital photography, GPS coordinates and centralized electronic databases. Motivated by the new capabilities of digital recording, the KwaZulu-Natal Rock Art Mapping Project (RAMP) of the African Conservation Trust has been running since 2006 (with some interruptions) with the objective to (re)record the hundreds of rock art sites in the UDP. The project's site-recording procedure involves acquiring accurate GPS coordinates for each site and plotting these onto aerial or satellite imagery and topo-cadastral maps, also creating digital photographs and detailed descriptions for each site. The KwaZulu-Natal Museum database is being developed to accommodate the new digital data and efforts are being made to match old records with new ones. While the creation of new records is essential for the ongoing study of rock art, there remains much valuable work to be done in terms of retrieving and making sense of old ones. It is this preoccupation that underpins much of my research.

At the Burg Wartenstein Symposium in 1965 a scheme was put forward to recommend that archaeological nomenclature follow "local names with narrow connotations" (Malan 1970: 90) and since then, more vernacular, unique and local names have been preferred. What is called Lower Cingati, Cinyati, Ebusingata or eBusingatha in the literature, is known to the inhabitants of the valley as uMhwabane (also spelled in various ways such as Mohwabane, Mghwabama and kwaMhwabane). According to Busingatha residents, this name refers to the dangerous giant serpent that is believed to have lived in the waters below it and might derive from the verb *hwaba*, which means to emaciate or make thin, which fits well with its menacing nature (Adrian Koopman pers. comm. 2011). Over time the river shifted its course and in the late 1990s a large rock fall took place within the shelter. I don't think these events were related and the change in the course of the river was a more gradual process, but in combination they were taken by locals to mean that the serpent had left (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 285). Importantly, uMhwabane is a name that reflects the site's living heritage but has little resonance with the archaeological literature and does not facilitate the stabilization of the site's identity which, as I shall show, has not always been straightforward.

EBUSINGATHA AS SYNECDOCHE

Because of its primary status, eBusingatha has at times functioned as a kind of synecdoche, a part that stands in for the whole of the archaeology in the valley, absorbing the identity of other sites. In (or shortly before) 1932, G. Burnham King and Ernest Charles Chubb investigated a "large rock shelter, with paintings on its walls, situated in Cave Sandstone on the western aspect of the Singati Valley, in the Native Reserve adjoining the Drakensberg National Park" (King & Chubb 1932: 768). Vinnicombe assumed (she was not the only one to do so) that the shelter they excavated was Ebusingata (Vinnicombe 1976: 124, 2009: 122). But a number of elements in King and Chubb's description of the site do not comfortably correspond to the empirical evidence. They mention a stream of water falling over the overhanging rock forming the shelter roof, whereas there is no waterfall today. Water does of course change course, and also flows seasonally, but I have found no evidence of any recent or older waterfall. They make another observation that there were "no superimposed paintings". The paintings still visible at eBusingatha today, as well as several other panels that would have been visible then, feature a great deal of superimposition. They noted that most of the paintings adorning the walls during a former visit "consisting of representations of eland, black wildebeest, elephant, and many smaller antelopes, together with groups of human beings" had in the interim "been removed", but the official removals only took

place at eBusingatha in 1947. King and Chubb reported the excavation of a trench "ten feet long and three feet wide, in the deposits on the floor of the cave" consisting of a top layer of goat and cattle droppings, below which the soil was sandy with finely disintegrated sandstone, but the floor of eBusingatha cave has for a long time been largely obstructed by large fallen slabs and other stony debris with practically no available deposit for excavation. A loose-stack stone-wall was built up as an enclosure, probably as an animal kraal, around an area on the left side of the shelter, visible in a Frobenius photograph from 1929 (**Plate 4.4.2**). The wall can be seen in a more collapsed state in photographs from the 1940s (**Plate 4.4.1**). It would have enclosed some kind of level floor space but I do not think it was a soil deposit since this side of the shelter is presently filled with a deep jumble of rocks. Frobenius expedition photographs from 1929 (**Plates 4.3.3** and **4.3.4**) clearly show the cluttered nature of the shelter's internal space and it had probably already been lying roughly in this collapsed configuration for a certain time. As Van Riet Lowe observed, some of the older paintings in this shelter occurred (some still do occur) on the underside of blocks that had fallen over after having been painted, and more recent paintings were added to the newly vertical sides of these tipped blocks, indicating a chronological sequence of a certain depth (Van Riet Lowe c.1947).

At around the time of the excavation, Chubb was curator at the Durban Museum, an institution that was both a cultural and natural history museum. It has since evolved into a primarily natural science museum, its cultural materials being dispersed over the years to a number of local history museums in the city. Present members of staff do not know what happened to the old archaeology files (Immie Mostert pers. comm. 2010). In the absence of additional documentary or artefactual evidence from the King and Chubb excavation, and considering the vagaries of describing painted rock shelters in a landscape where so many sites occur, perhaps these points are insufficient to conclude whether it was indeed a different site. They do, however, strongly suggest that eBusingatha was not the shelter King and Chubb excavated.

Vinnicombe goes on to point out that,

> [King and Chubb's published] report mentions that many of the paintings had recently been removed, and there is at least one painted slab originating from Ebusingata now in the Durban museum. Although its provenance is not recorded, it is clearly the same as a group of dancers accompanied by clapping women copied by the Frobenius team and published in *Madsimu Dsangara*. The remainder of the paintings were removed from this shelter for safe keeping in 1947, and after being housed in the Museum at the National Park, Mont Aux Sources, have now been transferred to the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg (1976: 124, 2009: 122).

She assumed that this dancing/clapping group originated at Ebusingata and that it was removed prior to the official removals of 1947 (with which I deal in Chapter 4.3). When exactly and by whom it was removed is still unclear; it is also not known how it landed in the collections of the Durban Museum. I tracked this slab to the stores of the Old Court House Museum. It is presently unprovenanced and museum staff identified it from a copy of the black-and-white *Madsimu Dsangara* illustration that I provided (Frobenius 1931a: Tafel 103; Rebecca Naidoo pers. comm. 2010; **Plate 4.1.5**, **4.1.6**).

The sculpting of the slab shows a high degree of stonemasonry craftsmanship. It was carefully removed from its original sandstone context and neatly reshaped into a flat rectangular plaque of even thickness, chosen in the first place no doubt because of the relative evenness of its painted

surface and the natural 'frameability' of the dancing group. It is substantially different in appearance from the large, unwieldy, jagged chunks that were removed from eBusingatha in 1947, now housed at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum which, Van Riet Lowe felt, were not well removed.[42]

The dancing/clapping group was photographed while still *in situ* by Wylde-Browne. From the negative, he produced an unretouched print as well as a copy negative print (**Plate 4.1.7**, **4.1.8**); the two versions are undated and unfortunately do not show any information about the wider context. If the photograph was taken after 1931, he may have been influenced in his selection by the illustration published by Frobenius (1931a: Tafel 103; the published plate may, of course, also have influenced those who chiselled this group out of the shelter). In the Frobenius publication, the group is simply captioned as being located at 'Cinyati'. In the published Frobenius catalogue list (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1931: 138, 140), however, two distinct Cinyati locations emerge.

The published list enumerates thirteen painted copies that were produced at a site called *Großе Cinyati-Höhle* ('Cinyati Main Cave'); in unpublished Frobenius sources it is referred to as *Unterer Cinyati* meaning 'Lower Cinyati'). This prominent shelter (also referred to in contracted form as 'Cinyati') is generally known to be the same as Van Riet Lowe's 'Ebusingata' (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 285).

Two other copies were produced at *Oberer Cinyati*, translated as 'Upper Cinyati'. This could indicate that it was a higher part of the same rock formation, or a nearby site situated at a higher altitude or upstream from the lower shelter. Because the identity of the site from which this panel came is not identifiable through the literature alone, and because it could impact on the understanding of the main Cinyati site, I undertook a detailed search for its location.

THE JOURNEY TO UPPER CINGATI

In her diary, Weyersberg describes how she departed from *der Höhle Zinyati* on the afternoon of 3 February 1929 to travel to another site accompanied by several guides, leaving her other two artist colleagues behind to complete their work there. The deviation took her upstream within an afternoon's return trip on horseback in the direction of Mont-aux-Sources (Weyersberg 1929b: 4-5). A lesser-known shelter that was entered into the regional archaeological database in 2003 under the name "Litshana 2" is situated about seven kilometres upstream from the lower site.[43] It contains clear evidence of several rectangular removals. It is an otherwise unassuming feature, relatively small and shallow and its remaining paintings are faded, exfoliated and in some cases barely visible beneath messy black graffiti.

On the original sheet that included the dancing group, Weyersberg included four other smaller groups and a solitary figure; none of these other figures were published (**Plate 4.1.10**). On a separate sheet she recorded a white elephant (**Plate 4.1.12**). Her expedient recording was concise and comprises only very brief notes and no photographs, but despite the shelter's deteriorated state, many of these other figures can still be identified on its walls. Thus Litshana 2 can be identified as Upper Cingati (**Plate 4.1.11**).

[42] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Battiss, 12 March 1947. SAHRA.

[43] Litshana 1 (NSN 2828DD 023) is a slightly smaller shelter with fewer paintings adjacent to Litshana 2 (NSN 2828DD 024). The two shelters also go by the name "kwaTshane Elibomvane".

I do not know to what extent Wylde-Browne was familiar with the Frobenius pictorial copies, but he knew of the expedition, and also refers to a site further up the valley as "Upper Cingati".[44] It was based on Wylde-Browne's letter that Van Riet Lowe entered this second Cingati site into his index of sites (Van Riet Lowe 1941: 28). I have, however, not found any further information on the site from his time at the Survey, or any other evidence of the link between the copies produced by Weyersberg and the small unassuming shelter of Litshana 2. It can therefore be assumed that the knowledge of this name and location was subsequently lost. As with the lower site, there exists a multiple name problem for this more remote rock shelter, and, unlike its lower counterpart, it does not have a strong identity. I therefore follow the precedent set by Wylde-Browne and the Frobenius expedition by referring to it in a general context as Upper Cingati.

Wylde-Browne complained about "[w]anton [d]estruction by natives" of the rock paintings in the reserve for a date at least as far back as 1920 as well as the "very unsatisfactory schemes of the Monuments Commission" with regards to their protection, making specific reference to this shelter in the context of this vandalism.[45] He reported that at Lower Cingati Cave in 1923 he had witnessed "natives bashing [the paintings] with pointed rocks" and "[o]n enquiring why, [he] understood that [the natives did] not care about Europeans visiting those parts."[46] It is uncertain whether his "wanton destruction" included graffiti, but this is certainly a major problem at Upper Cingati today. Most of it appears very recent and in places it occurs directly on top of the paintings, deliberately scribbled to mask specific painted figures (**Plate 4.1.11**). Of course, graffiti is only one aspect of the physical damage observable at Upper Cingati today. The more indelible marks of professional "vandals" are also inscribed on one of its walls, giving the rock shelter the irreversible appearance of a violated place. These removals may have been an attempt to protect the rock paintings from vandalism, but, ironically, they are likely to have encouraged others to continue the defacement of the paintings that were left behind.

UPPER CINGATI'S MISSING PAINTINGS

Vinnicombe linked one painted slab in a museum storeroom in Durban to the Frobenius copy published in Madimu Dsangara. But today there are clear traces of three rectangular panels that were skilfully removed, and a fourth aborted attempt. All chisel marks are in the same neat, professional 'style', which suggests that they were all removed simultaneously; collectively they would have post-dated Weyersberg's visit in 1929. Upper Cingati is a prime example of what some refer to as "scientific" or "professional" vandalism (Bednarik 1990) although the appropriateness of the term "vandalism" in this context is debatable. It is likely that the stonemasons and those who employed them saw it as good for the paintings in some way, or at least considered the damage to be an acceptable cost for allowing them to be placed into formal collections where they could be protected, viewed and studied. Today authorities resort to the removal of rock paintings only in extreme situations, for example where developments will lead to the destruction of the site (e.g. Anderson 2008).

Several of the other removed rock paintings in the Old Court House Museum's collections embody this same neat 'framed' style, suggesting an organized effort, perhaps a professional

[44] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 3 February 1937. RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002).

[45] Letter from Wylde-Browne to van Riet Lowe, 3 February 1937. RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002).

[46] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 27 March 1947. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

removal team working for a museum or collector.[47] Although many of the rock art accessions have no provenance or paper trail of any kind within the institution that houses them, clues can be found elsewhere. A Wylde-Browne photograph of two rock-painted eland from the Burkitt collection in Cambridge enabled me to identify a second missing panel from Upper Cingati (**Plate 4.1.13**). An apparently headless antelope in the lower right-corner of this photograph is still visible *in situ*, although it is scribbled over with black and the natural forms of the stone surfaces immediately outside of the removed area also match up (**Plate 4.1.14**).

I identified the third missing panel through the signature of a sixth small composition of four reddish-brown figures copied by Weyersberg. These dark-red figures are not obvious at first glance, as they are integrated by their colour and texture into the rock surface, and are dimmer and set back from the other groups of figures in white to either side that Weyersberg did not copy (**Plate 4.1.15**).

Members of the local Mdlankomo rock art monitoring group attribute the removal of these paintings to the presence in the valley of a 'busload of Indian people' several months prior to Meridy Pfotenhauer's site recording in 2003. This 'rural legend' was relayed to me again in 2008 by Petros Ngwane and Muzi Msimanga, yet another expression of the racial tensions and absurdities still rife in South Africa: the painters were Bushmen, the custodians of the paintings are now black, the removers were probably white as were in all likelihood those who commissioned them, and those accused of the theft are Indian. The story cannot be true of course, for the removed panels had already been lying in the storerooms of the Durban Museum for a certain time, at least since Vinnicombe reported their presence there (1976: 124, 2009: 122) and probably much longer. I have not been able to further elucidate the circumstances surrounding these removals.

Since I have found no evidence of removals from any other site in the Busingatha Valley, it is tempting to suggest that Upper Cingati was the site that King and Chubb (1932) excavated; it is plausible that the paintings could have been removed sometime between 1929 and 1932. Moreover, although the excavators found the removals "regrettable", Chubb was himself curator of the museum in which the items ultimately ended up, although of course this may be pure coincidence. Other convincing attributes described in King and Chubb's report include the absence of superimposed paintings and the presence of a "painted elephant" (1932: 768), an uncommon subject in Drakensberg rock paintings (Vinnicombe 2009: 351). On closer inspection, however, as with the lower site, a number of items in their description do not fit with the empirical evidence. King and Chubb situate their rock shelter on the "western aspect" of the "Singati Valley", whereas Upper Cingati faces north to north-east. They estimate the size of the shelter to be "80 feet long, 30 feet high, and 20 feet deep" (about 24m long, 9m high and 6m deep). I have not measured the site myself but it is visibly much smaller than this; the Pfotenhauer report estimates it to be 12m long, 3m high and 1.5m deep. The remaining attributes they list are not diagnostic one way or the other.

There is perhaps an alternative reading of the 'removals' referred to in King and Chubb's report:

[47] For example, the ten items under OCHM Acc. No. 95/185 (/1 to /10).

> On a former visit, numerous paintings, consisting of representations of eland, black wildebeest, elephant, and many smaller antelopes, together with groups of human beings, adorned the walls; but it was very regrettable to find that, in the interval, most of these had been removed. They were of various colours, including black and white, but chiefly yellow, brown and red, the red predominating (1932: 768).

How long was the interval between their two visits? Could they have meant that the paintings had simply been rubbed out or worn off? Could they have mistaken this site for another? These alternatives would support neither one of the two candidate sites; the existence of a third as yet unidentified site would need to be considered in order to solve the Chubb and King records.

Pending any further evidence, it can be suggested that three archaeological sites were collapsed into one, the name for the whole of the valley being given to a small but significant locality within it, causing other places to be collapsed into the first one. This is hardly surprising given the prominence of eBusingatha in the valley and the scant or misleading information available on the other sites. Upper Cingati was hidden within the archives belonging to an entirely different shelter. Similar metonymic shifts operate at the level of the paintings.

4.2

Upper Cingati:

restoration

UPPER CINGATI, LITSHANA TWO

Upper Cingati is not a prominent feature in the landscape. From a distance it looks like a small unassuming slit in the grassy slopes below larger and more distinctive sandstone features, two levels of high mushroom-like outcrops streaked with black and orange (**Plate 4.2.1**). It is only in the very final approach to the shelter that it can be seen as a protective and usable space, unlike many of the more monumental, but inhospitable, surrounding rock formations.

With the knowledge we now have of numerous more elaborately painted shelters nearby at higher altitudes, one of the reasons this humble shelter attracted attention from early on may have been its location in the sandstone band closest to river level. A well-worn path follows the river's edge just below the shelter, a natural route through this steep and rippled landscape. Within the rock shelter, chisel marks of professional vandals are surrounded by graffiti, some quite fresh, attesting that the shelter has continued to be visited and its paintings further degraded in recent years. Yet in the 1920s this small shelter was one of the most significant destinations in the valley for those interested in Bushman rock art, the second most important after eBusingatha. It is not surprising then to learn that in those years it was like a different shelter.

A long gap exists in Upper Cingati's recording history; I have found no evidence that it was ever recorded between 1929 and 2003. When independent rock art recorder Meridy Pfotenhauer began her recording activities in the Upper Tugela Location in the 1990s, the local inhabitants of the various traditional authority areas of the location were not always amenable to outsider visitors and the deeper recesses of this landscape were not easily accessible. Unaware of any earlier references, she recorded this site as the second of a pair of painted shelters immediately adjacent to one another at the same elevation: Litshana 1 and 2.

I have found no evidence of any pre-2003 recording for this adjacent shelter.[1] A steep but narrow section of grassy slope separates the two shelters. The floor-plan of Upper Cingati/Litshana 2 is L-shaped, pointing outward. The internal space is dark and intimate, as a row of rock slabs forms a natural barrier along the drip-line. Like a corridor, it has no primary locus or central space. It could be used for overnighting but cannot comfortably sleep more than a few people (**Plate 4.2.2**).[2]

[1] NSN: 2828DD 023. The shelters appear similar when viewed from the path but on the inside they have a distinctly different character. Litshana 1 is slightly smaller than Litshana 2, and is vaguely crescent-shaped and open to the surrounding landscape. Although not plagued by graffiti, it contains fewer, more faded, predominately monochrome white paintings.

[2] NSN: 2828 DD 024.

As described in the previous chapter, in the 1920s both the photographer Wylde-Browne (**Plates 4.1.7**, **4.1.13**) and the ethnographer-artist Weyersberg (**Plates 4.1.10**, **4.1.12**) partially documented the back wall of the east wing of the shelter (the short arm of the 'L'). Three roughly rectangular panels were removed at an unknown time. A layered reconstruction of this wall provides a visual synthesis integrating all known pictorial records (P**lates 4.2.3**, **a**, **b**, **c**).

Resituating the isolated images back into the context of this place of origin allows us to imagine what this painted wall once looked like, while simultaneously reflecting its history of damage (**Plate 4.2.4**). The heavy impact of externally framed views on this particular stretch of rock is striking.

UPPER CINGATI UNFRAMED

The chisel marks are the consequences of the most physically violent acts of framing at Upper Cingati. Within the chiselled area, three roughly quadrilateral shapes of blank rock are discernible, each framed by a kind of 'bird's foot' pattern along the top edge, indicating how the stonemason worked his way into the stone at regular intervals around the selections, possibly using wedges of some kind (**Plate 4.2.3**). Surrounding these zones are untidier chisel marks, covering a larger area that was obliterated in the process of removing the three intact samples. In the previous chapter, I identified three slabs in the collections of Durban's Old Court House Museum that fit into these gaps. A dark substance is visible painted around the edges of these pieces (**Plates 4.1.5**, **4.1.13**, **4.1.15**) and presumably this was some kind of stain applied to the rock surface prior to their removal, pre-framing the selected groups as a guide for the stonemason. A fourth attempt was made to remove a smaller block comprising a group of three human figures in red, but this removal was aborted, creating the unusual scenario where a cluster of paintings is externally framed but still *in situ* (**Plate 4.1.11**).

The effect of the removals was paradoxically both damaging and preserving. The pieces that have benefited from long-term institutional care have remained in better condition whereas many of the parietal figures that remained behind have been scribbled over in black chalk.[3] The large obliterated areas surrounding the selections raise the question of how many figures were destroyed during the removals. Unfortunately Upper Cingati's shelter floor is sandy and churned up and no debris from the removals has been found there. Why the removers considered certain images to be expendable is open to speculation: they may have been smaller, not as well preserved or less visually striking, or they may have overlapped with other images in a confusing or impractical way. Whatever the case, each copy or removed piece is an example of a discriminating act of framing, and each focuses on a group that is internally relatively cohesive in composition.

The three removed panels are varied in style and subject. Their removal has transformed them into isolated compositions that do not appear to have anything in common with one another. The removed slabs correspond, in part, with the selections that Weyersberg copied. In her diary she wrote that she chose the "most important paintings" at this site (Weyersberg 1929b: 6) so it is perhaps surprising that she did not copy the visually striking pair of eland that caught the others'

[3] Upper Cingati may be too 'far gone' to be the object of a graffiti removal workshop such as the one led by Janette Deacon at eBusingatha in 1995. Large chunks are missing and, while it might to a certain extent be possible to clean the rock surfaces, the remaining rock paintings have been badly affected by flaking and fading, more irreversible sorts of damage. The shelter would, on the other hand, be a good candidate for more developed digital enhancement and reconstruction, possibly in 3D, of the whole shelter.

attention. She may have run out of time for she spent only part of one afternoon at Upper Cingati and needed to return to the lower shelter to rejoin her colleagues before dark. Alternatively, perhaps she was more interested in the human representations here, having already seen and copied shaded bichrome eland at the lower site. I have also put back some of the detail and colour from her copies (**Plate 4.2.4**).

A SITE-WIDE COMPOSITION

Because of the gaps and frames across this panel – but not only because of them – one has the impression of a collection of disparate, apparently unrelated figures or groups, with little superposition or other obvious compositional relationships. Weyersberg noted that the shelter comprised "isolated paintings" across its wall surfaces with no layered imagery (1929c: 15). Although we may never know what creatures or activities occupied the gaps, the paintings that do survive comprise relatively 'ordinary-looking' representations. There are wide unpainted gaps between these figurative foci and several figures that appear to be completely on their own. The most obvious compositional principle is that similar figures are clustered together. Another is that certain painted figures or groups are 'compartmentalized', for instance the painted imagery below the chiselled panel of eland where the artist(s) employed two natural divisions of the rock face to frame the figures placed there. These and other compositional and spatial relationships suggested further on might be relevant to other painting sites, opening up a new possible way to approach the analysis of San paintings (cf. Nettleton 1985: 58).

THE MAIN WALL IN THE EAST WING

One apparently discrete composition attracted the attention of the photographer, copyist and stonemason: a small but classic example of "trance dance" or "communal group" (Dowson 1994: 335-6; Lewis-Williams 2003: 116; **Plate 4.2.5**).

The early recorders did not have as detailed an ethnographically informed framework within which to make sense of the iconography, and were also clearly drawn to it on the grounds of its visible/visual qualities. They would have had some notion of the importance of dance within hunter-gatherer communities, but of all the painted compositions at this shelter, it is also the scene that offers the most detail, clarity and colour. The figures are painted in white, maroon and pink, giving an impression of polychromy, but the pink could result from a bit of maroon mixed into the white. The colourful effect is also enhanced by natural patterns on the rock and may further be amplified by the uneven effects of ageing. The left part of the group comprises seated figures wearing cloaks and arm- and leg-bands, several clapping, facing in towards a gap in the centre. On the opposite side, more naked figures with some body decoration, bent slightly forward at the waist, are lined up in a row facing towards the middle, carrying wispy stick-like objects. On each side, figures of similar size and appearance 'spoon' each other, functioning like brackets around a central space and creating a circular, self-contained, inward-focused composition. Indeed, graphically, the communal group lends itself very well to the act of framing.

Five different versions are all framed in roughly the same way. Wylde-Browne may have taken his photographs as early as 1920 but the copy-negative prints are undated and not necessarily as old. He may have been influenced in his selection by the Frobenius published plate (1931a: Tafel 103) because he, like Weyersberg, omitted the small figure 'dressed' in white on the far right edge

of the group. But he also omitted two figures on the far left of the group, which the Frobenius copy does include. Weyersberg considered this to be the "best preserved and therefore most important group", illustrating a general tendency for observers to be drawn to those paintings that offered figurative elaboration and clarity.

Separated from its original context, the removed rectangle of stone became a mobiliary artwork that could function (if it was hung on a wall instead of stored in an unlit museum drawer) like a framed, internally coherent painting in the Western art-gallery tradition. The two eland on another of Upper Cingati's removed slabs, however, do not sit as happily within the orthogonal field imposed on them. Two different translations created at different times frame the animals in an almost identical fashion, one by a photographer and one by a stonemason (although again a possible link between these two framing events cannot be excluded; **Plate 4.1.13**). But upon closer inspection the foreground figures are not seamlessly detached from their immediate surroundings. The front feet of another more faded eland of similar style are visible in the top left corner of the photograph (and of the removed piece); the rest of this animal is cut off by the edges of the photograph and was destroyed during the removal. The two dominant eland are standing in profile and may have been painted as shaded bichrome. The effect is colourful, incorporating sandy brown, reddish-brown and white hues (and again the variations may be the result of differential preservation or the mixing of different pigments). The eland on the left is in a steady, straightforward posture while the other is less static, with the front part of its body slightly lowered as it steps one of its front legs forward and curves its tail around towards its side. A hazy smudge below its muzzle may be a deliberately added nasal emission (or a natural feature incorporated into the painting), which, in shamanistic analogy, might suggest an association with the animal's pending death or, in more metaphorical terms, as blood flowing from a trancing and transformed shaman's nose (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 81).

The eland's horns appear almost three-dimensional, as if engraved into the stone, and elsewhere the painter's visible brush strokes also create a sense of corporeality: shading on the body, tummy and leg contours, tail, ears, feet. The clarity of these animals is foregrounded and draws attention away from the ghostly presence of other figures: each antelope is 'shadowed' by another older figure. That the eland underneath are in all probability significantly 'older' than the ones on top follows stratigraphic logic. The 'old' eland are more worn and incomplete in appearance. The left one appears to be facing left and is dark and barely visible (dark purple-brown with a red-brown outline); the right one faces right and is brighter, more prominent and similar in colour to the 'new' eland (reddish-brown shaded towards the tummy which is painted in white). Both 'ghost' eland are faded and more integrated by their colour and grainy texture into the unpainted rock canvas. In both cases they have faded to mere torsos; their heads are gone or so faded as to be invisible and their lower legs are hidden below the 'new' eland. Each of the 'new' animals touches the 'old' one beneath it at two contact points: shoulder area and horns of the 'new' to the front and back leg areas of the 'old'. This pattern, if it is seen to hold at other sites, may be significant for an understanding of the paintings as meaningful accumulations of figures, possibly by different painters, over time (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42).

The Wylde-Browne photograph of the eland shows that they were originally positioned as if walking along a natural edge in the rock (**Plate 4.2.6**). The front legs of the right eland are proportionately shorter than those of the left eland to accommodate this natural edge. A more slender antelope in a similar shaded bichrome style is visible below these eland within a wedge-shaped rock formation that served as a natural 'frame' for the painter. It appears at first glance to

be headless, but is in fact turning its head behind its body so that its red horns are visible above its shoulders; in other words, it is overlapping with itself. Lewis-Williams (1974: 93) has suggested that "superpositioning was not a random painting over older work but a form of syntax governed by certain rules". Although his definition of superpositioning is arguably very different, figures superpositioned in relation to themselves may also carry significance related to their layeredness, but this raises the question of the extent to which the hidden parts of single figures might be considered superpositions more generally. The idea is interesting but possibly problematic, for example in the case of foreshortened views.[4]

The third removed piece is trapezium-shaped. Its slightly deviant outline may have been influenced by natural features of the rock that the stonemason had to accommodate. Flat, structurally sound sections would have been preferred, and faults and relief in the rock would surely have influenced the decision of which sections to cut out as well as the final shape of the removed pieces. This slab comprises a row of monochrome human figures, red ones in a central zone and white ones to either side. In her copy, Weyersberg selected the red group out from the rest. It comprises two male figures (with an indeterminate painted fragment between them) running towards a taller and thicker (female?) figure carrying a stick slung over its shoulder (**Plate 4.1.15**). The figures here are different from those belonging to the communal group. They are closer in appearance to several other figures on this wall in a style that can be characterized as monochrome, undecorated and more caricatural.

OTHER PAINTINGS IN THE WEST WING

Wylde-Browne, Weyersberg and the removers all concentrated their efforts on the narrower wall of the west wing of the shelter (left-hand side looking in). Around the corner a number of additional painted figures can be discerned across the back wall of the second, longer wing. This wall is also covered in graffiti (**Plate 4.2.7**). Its painted imagery is not well preserved, affected as it is by flaking, exfoliation and dark stains. Its appearance may already have been similarly degraded in the 1920s.

Towards the far right end of the shelter, another colourful picture can be made out, although badly degraded, as thematically and compositionally similar to the communal group (**Plate 4.2.8**). Its black, white and red figures compete with the 'visual noise' of the white and black rough and mottled texture of the rock surface. It comprises a row of seated clapping figures in the left half of the group facing in towards the centre, and an assemblage of figures in varied postures, some that appear as though they might be dancing, in the right half. The latter are highly fragmented but some seem for the most part to face inwards.

A larger, more elongated figure depicted in frontal perspective stands in the centre of the group, and is deviant in relation to the first composition. Although, in their original positions at Upper Cingati, the two communal groups were located in different wings of the small rock-shelter, and were not simultaneously visible, it is now apparent that the first group was wrested from a context in which it shared a strong thematic relationship and internal composition with a nearby

[4] What strikes me with Upper Cingati's head-turned figure is that its axis is turned 180 degrees on itself, whereas most San rock figures are not axially twisted in this way. If this is in any way comparable to the superpositioning likened in linguistic analogy to the "semantics of syntax", it is an elaboration of figures that is to be understood in both graphic and semantic terms, but, whatever its meaning or varied expressions might have been, it requires further exploration (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 55).

cluster of painted figures. This second cluster of figures evokes a less common category of "communal group" described by Dowson (1994) comprising a "pre-eminent shaman" or central figure that is larger and more elaborate. Of course, it may not be a related theme at all, as this latter pattern was documented some way away, in a last refuge of comparatively independent Bushman communities in the Barkly East and Maclear districts of the south-western Drakensberg of the Eastern Cape, where these differentiated-figure depictions might be related, Dowson argues, to the negotiation of prominent positions in society by San shamans in the "contact period". But, he warns, one must advance circumspectly when drawing parallels between the paintings and historical events and processes, especially in the absence of secure direct dates for individual figures. Upper Cingati is located on the diametrically opposite side of the Maloti-Drakensberg massif, but if other similar groups were shown to occur in a wider distribution, new light might be shed into these differentiated communal groups, across a region with a variable 'contact period' history.

Several other examples of painted figures and groups that follow and integrate the natural breaks and visual qualities of the rock surface can be found along the second wall. Two small bichrome white and orange rhebuck run along the bottom edge of a stretch of rock. Behind them, standing on the same natural boundary, is a large red monochrome bovine/eland-like animal. This stretch of rock is covered in white blotches (possibly a mineral accumulation) that blend with other faded figures. Higher up and quite a bit further to the west end of the shelter (right looking in) it is possible to discern two monochrome figures, one white and smaller with long ears, one painted in scarlet, running towards one another in imminent collision. Just to the right of these two figures is a natural mineral run across the rock surface of a clear white substance over a seemingly natural bright bright-red stain. Other figures merge ambiguously in and out of the colours and textures of the rock; the boundaries between what is painted and what is natural are blurred.

A HIDDEN GALLERY

Through the process of restoring Upper Cingati's main panel, I partially overturned my earlier assumptions that its paintings were disparate, relatively plain and irreversibly damaged. Of course, on a physical level, the paintings *are* irreversibly damaged, but a study of its recorded history and a digital revisualization can restore some (certainly not all) of the lost qualities of the rock shelter in its past forms. High-end digital enhancement techniques could be combined with a historical reconstruction such as the one I provide here to further reveal and clarify images that are difficult to see and to establish site-wide relationships between them.

Upper Cingati is a far cry from the simple end of the spectrum of the painted shelters of the Maloti-Drakensberg, which comprises sparsely painted shelters that contain only one or a few plain figure(s). It is nonetheless quite unlike the dense, mural-like panoramas of eBusingatha, even in its most fully 'restored' state. Although difficult to discern, there are some remnants of remarkable painted imagery at this shelter as well as connections between painted imagery in different parts of the shelter. Site-wide compositional principles such as "a clear tendency to arrange figures in zones and to keep similar figures together" (Nettleton 1985: 58) seem nonetheless to emerge. However, in a 'panel-wide' or 'site-wide' sense, there is perhaps insufficient material to attempt sustained compositional, phenomenological or panoramic analyses along the lines of Nettleton (1985), Ouzman (1997) or Lewis-Williams and Pearce (2009). There are still of course many gaps and obscurities but this exercise in visualization encourages a consideration of what happens within as well as without the frames. Reading such partially preserved paintings as a whole composition and

not simply a collection of isolated pictures remains a challenge, but I propose that there is much to gain, here as elsewhere, from the viewing of the paintings in a wider context.

4.3

Cinyati:

the Frobenius archive

LEO FROBENIUS AND THE BIG PICTURE

The German Leo Frobenius (b.1873–d.1938) was an Africanist multidisciplinarian: ethnographer, anthropologist, archaeologist, historian and collector. In the late nineteenth century and during the first third of the twentieth century, he travelled the world to document and collect evidence of the material culture of ancient and traditional ways of life. He had a particular interest in the African continent, across which he conducted twelve epic expeditions between 1904 and 1935. From the accumulated materials, he published a prolific number of books in which he gave form to many fanciful ideas about Africans and origins, and influences and migrations within and between cultures (e.g. Frobenius 1931a, 1931b, 1933). He was an influential, complex and unsettling figure, and has most often not been considered a true "scholar", as he was refused entry into German universities and was generally not taken seriously by the European academic establishment (Jahn 1974: 6-7).

Johannes Fabian suggests that, "[i]t is both easy and hard to recognize the great Africanist Frobenius" in a "caricature" written by Emil Torday about his first encounter with Frobenius in the Congo in 1905 (1998: 85-6); in a way this is true of all writings about and by Frobenius. He is distinctive, yet slippery and multifacetted, as a quote from Janheinz Jahn illustrates:

> [T]he child Frobenius believed what an English-speaking Abeokuta youth told him—that in his country "every man from ancient times is a big stone"; he went there and excavated *terra-cotta* and bronze heads, and he founded an African archaeology against the then current opinion that Africa had no history.
>
> The child Frobenius never sat on the high horse from which the "scholar" Frobenius constantly overshot his mark. The child Frobenius was "genial," in the German sense; he granted to oppressed Africa, an Africa which was despised so that oppression might be justified, the insignia of nobility: human dignity, culture, art, literature, and history. Africa will remember him for that. He helped Africans and Afro-Americans to find a new consciousness of themselves within the African heritage. Loyal to his Emperor, a semi-fascist, a pseudo-scholar, and a sentimental author of *Kitsch*, Frobenius made nevertheless a significant contribution to the liberation and decolonization of Africa. For he was a child, a poet, and a genius, and he knew how to write effectively (1974: 19-20).

Despite the volumes Frobenius wrote (or perhaps precisely because he wrote so much), and how much has been written about him, it is difficult to gain an overall sense of the legacy of his work. It was perhaps because his more fanciful ideas were rejected by academics that his early

role in the investigation of southern African rock art has been insufficiently recognized. Haberland (1973: 224) lists "Frobenius' premature death, the anti-intellectualism of that time which made many of Frobenius' ideas suspect, the war that destroyed the Africa Institute and Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt with many of their treasures, and brought death to a number of students" as "reasons why his great achievements did not produce the effective results they deserved". In the context of South Africa, the fact that the bulk of his written work has never been translated into English has further contributed to this neglect and he has only occasionally been credited with the first major regional contribution to rock art studies in southern Africa (Pager 1962: 45;[1] Garlake 1987: 19; Keene 2010). The major two-volume work about his researches on southern African rock art, *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931a) has not to date been translated into English, although there is currently a plan to do so (Petro Keene pers. comm. 2010). And yet Frobenius set a number of important precedents that break away from the "gaze and guess" approaches that dominated early rock art research. He consciously drew from earlier ethnographic sources such as Joseph Orpen (1874) and Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd (Bleek 1911). He was also the first to suggest explicitly that the Bushman painting tradition was essentially shamanistic (Keene 2010: 39), seeing clear parallels between Bushman culture and "hyperborean shamanism" (Frobenius 1931a: 27; Pager 1962: 42-4). Garlake explains that Frobenius's approach contained fundamental misconceptions, in particular claims about western Asian origins and influences in the art, but points out at the same time that it

> contains the seeds of many of the most stimulating and convincing current interpretations … Frobenius recognised that many paintings could not be described simply as attempts at accurate reproductions of natural forms, but that … the art was largely conceptual, symbolic and religious in its content and that the concepts and symbols and rituals that were the key to understanding it would be found in anthropological studies of surviving societies that were culturally related to, or descended from, the society of the artists (1987: 19).

It is beyond the scope of this research to elaborate on such histories of interpretation but no doubt they merit revisiting. My interest here is one of a more visual and archival nature. Frobenius was also a notable visual documentarian. In the course of his work he accumulated a vast archive of primary documents and images, many items of which have not been researched or published. The larger part of this material is housed at the Frobenius Institute (Frankfurt-am-Main). In 1931, a selection of secondary hand-copied works created during the 1928–30 expedition was sold to the government of the Union of South Africa, who bequeathed them to the South African Museum in Cape Town, where they are still kept today (Skotnes & Keene 2010: 7). These derived copies are referred to as *beta-Material*, a second generation created from the *alpha-Material* or primary materials that were produced in the field (Richard Kuba pers. comm. 2011). Within the wider context of the Frobenius archive, the rock art collection is a unique body of work in itself, because it was not made up of objects that might be considered 'plundered'; the art was merely copied, as it was not easily movable, being physically embedded in the landscape.

It is useful to emphasize the distinction between the archive and the published *oeuvre* that draws from this archive, for there is a significant remove between Frobenius's work in print and the primary sources upon which he leaned. He seems to have been primarily interested in elaborating overarching theories to create a bigger picture, and was described as a "master of the general survey"

[1] It is surely not a coincidence that Harald Pager, who was Austrian and spoke German, became interested in Frobenius's work.

(Haberland 1973: 228). As alluded to in the previous chapter, the major published accounts of the expedition to southern Africa (Frobenius 1931a, 1931b) are substantial, but they do not read like a chronicle or travelogue, presenting instead the research findings and results of the expedition as data. The ways in which the materials were collected and the localities where they originated do not prominently feature in these publications.

While Frobenius was undoubtedly the mastermind behind the expeditions and their publication—formulating the research objectives and itineraries, finding the necessary financial, political and institutional support and publishing the results with conviction and authority—the archive also incorporates the work of many other individuals whom, I argue, have not yet been given sufficient credit for their contribution. Other than Frobenius, the painters and illustrators on the expedition were Joachim Lutz, Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Agnes Susanne Schulz and Maria Weyersberg (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 87; **Plate 4.3.1**).

In this chapter I turn my back on the general survey, moving in the opposite direction towards a smaller, more localized view. Working backwards from the published sources into the unpublished archival materials, I attempt to piece together the details of a small part of a secondary leg of the ninth African expedition. I unearth and reassemble a set of documents and images produced in one week by three women. Collectively these documents effectively constitute a site recording, but have not before been assembled as such.

A VIEW INTO (LOWER) CINYATI CAVE

In a previous section (4.1), I outlined the objectives and itinerary of the Frobenius expedition to Natal, during which the name Cinyati was given to two of the eleven Natal sites that were documented by three female artists, Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Agnes Susanne Schulz and Maria Weyersberg. Cinyati was recorded in the week straddling the end of January and beginning of February 1929. Although it was, in various ways, often collapsed into (Lower) Cinyati, Upper Cinyati was in reality a separate site (+-seven kilometres upstream), presenting its own intriguing puzzle (dealt with in 4.2).

I have identified all but two of the Natal sites documented by the expedition (Schulz 1929: 1; sites N.1. to N.11.; **Annex III**). There are still many questions around the Frobenius expedition's choice of sites and what exactly they were searching for in Natal. Among these are whether they were given a fixed amount of time, and what they were instructed to look for. Prior to their departure for Natal, the primary instruction seems simply to have been "to further investigate Bushman paintings" (Weyersberg 1929a: 78), but ethnographic recording seems also to have been part of their mandate as they recorded other kinds of material culture such as traditional houses and dress and dedicated considerable time to making notes, sketches and photographs of these with careful observation. I have reconstructed a rough itinerary of the activities that they organized around excursions to rock painting sites (**Annex I**), punctuated by visits to local villages and interactions with Zulu-speaking people, women in particular. As might be expected, the choice of painting sites was largely contingent upon the people they met (and probably in large part influenced by the local knowledge of their hosts Mr. Zunckel and Mr. Martens[2]) and the distances and terrains their guides were able to negotiate in relatively short periods of time.

[2] Mr. Otto Zunckel (the hostel's second lessee 1926-1939; RNNP file, EKZNW) was their host at the Natal National Park Hostel (Weyersberg 1929a: 87) and Mr. Martens was their host at the Champagne Castle Hostel (Weyersberg 1929b: 10).

Knowledge of the painting sites among white populations was in those days relatively limited and it was not written down in a structured or centralized manner. In the wider context of mountain exploration and tourism world-wide, the Natal Drakensberg was a late bloomer for a variety of reasons, with tourism and recreational exploration in the final years of the 1800s involving primarily mountaineering activities. Interest in "Bushman paintings" was at first marginal, as an early railway guide illustrates (Harrison 1903). After the turn of the century, the expansion of the railway played a key role in 'opening up' the landscape for other kinds of interests, and radical changes took place in a short space of time (Pickles 1978: 214-35; Wright & Mazel 2007: 127).

The three artists' first stop was Van Reenen, the rail gateway into Natal through a pass over the lesser Drakensberg escarpment. The first rock painting site they visited was very easy to get to, as it was only about 500m from the Van Reenen Hotel. But it was a disappointment, as there were few paintings and a lot of graffiti.[3] From there they ventured deeper into Natal. When they arrived in Ladysmith on day three, they were informed that there were no known Bushman paintings in the area and were directed to the Natal National Park (Weyersberg 1929a: 81-2), occupying the northernmost section of the Natal Drakensberg range below Mont-aux-Sources. Travel on the mountain frontier was long and arduous, and the three women used combinations of train, bus, motorcar, horse and foot. The railways closest to the foothills below the escarpment served isolated rural outposts where rail lines were dead-ends and train schedules limited, and with frequent stops; bus services transported travellers to destinations beyond the end points of the railway. They documented three sites inside the park and two in the 'native location' just beyond its boundaries to the east (these were the Upper and Lower Cinyati sites). Leaving the Natal National Park, they entered what might have been the most difficult leg of their journey, the bus journey back to Bergville in the pouring summer rains during which the vehicle became stuck a number of times in muddy ditches. It took them the entire afternoon and evening to complete a 50km journey, and they eventually arrived in the town at 4am. Their next destination was Loskop, one of the nearest train stations to the south but requiring a change of trains in Ladysmith. Using the Champagne Castle Hostel as a base, they documented a site at an hour's walk from their place of accommodation, and three sites on neighbouring farms (Lekkerwater, Dingaan and Bellpark). In a final attempt to find better paintings they organized a long trek to a cave they called Ididima. This was the most remote site they visited in Natal, at the end of a journey of seventy-odd kilometres ("forty-five miles", Weyersberg 1929b: 16b) from the hostel into the high mountains, a journey on horseback of eleven hours each way necessitating camping at the shelter for several nights. After these explorations around Loskop, they returned to Ladysmith and journeyed northward out of Natal again (travelling onward to the Orange Free State, Transvaal, Cape Province, Southern Rhodesia and South-West Africa), having spent a total of about five weeks in the northern parts of the Natal Drakensberg.

(Lower) Cinyati (from here on simply referred to as Cinyati) is the singularly best represented site in their Natal documentation, to which just under 30% of the Frobenius copies can be attributed. Although the reconstructed itinerary is not sufficiently detailed to be completely accurate on this point, Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg spent an estimated one third of their Natal rock-painting recording days working on Cinyati Cave, from Monday 28 January to Sunday 3 February 1929 (one week). Furthermore, although not all their Natal photographs have been digitized or their subjects correctly identified, I have calculated that roughly one third of the Natal-labelled photographs relate to the Cinyati Valley. The valley and cave were thus a major focus of the Natal leg of the

[3] NSN: 2829AD 006 (The White House).

expedition. Many of the paintings viewed at other sites they described as being in poor condition, and at the first shelter they did not even bother to make any copies. At Cinyati, by contrast, despite the extensive damage they observed there too, they observed "among the remains such outstanding presentations that [they] saw a lot of work ahead of [them]" (Weyersberg 1929a: 88-9).

The thirteen painted copies created at Cinyati comprise seven small-format (less than 0.5 m^2), four middle-format (between 0.5 and 1 m^2) and two large-format (over 1 m^2) copies (**Cat. III**). They were created in either *Farbstift* (coloured pencil crayon) or *Aquarell* (watercolour). The team also took at least twenty-three photographs in the Cinyati Valley (**Cat. IV**). The photographs whose focus is the cave with its paintings are three panoramic sets, each consisting of three adjoining photographs providing views into the painted shelter from different angles (one frontal and two lateral; **Plates 4.3.2**, **4.3.3**, **4.3.4**). The remaining photographs are portraits of members of the local Zizi community in and around the shelter.

Three field notebooks contain written accounts of the three artists' time at Cinyati (Schulz 1929, Weyersberg 1929a, 1929b). Weyersberg's notes are like a travel diary, recounting their journey in a narrative and anecdotal style. On the subject of the rock paintings themselves she was characteristically succinct, as she quickly moved on to discuss in more detail and with seemingly greater enthusiasm their encounters with the locals, with their intriguing hairstyles, outfits and houses (1929a: 87-96). Schulz's (1929) notes are part of a re-bound assemblage of pages on rock painting sites in Basutuland, Free State and Natal, written by the three artists in turn. At Cinyati she was in all likelihood the one specifically tasked with taking detailed notes on the paintings and this would explain why Weyersberg did not bother to elaborate on this detail.

Schulz noted that the shelter contained many fallen down blocks, and that it appeared to have been blasted with dynamite, recording what she thought were two *Sprenglöcher* (blasting holes) inside the shelter. These observations seem strangely premonitory because there is only one removal event on record during which explosives may have been employed (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 300-1) and it took place almost two decades later in 1947. I cannot be certain of what Schulz observed but she may have been referring to what appear to be two drill-holes in a slanted rock slab forming the shelter 'floor', which are still visible at the south end of the shelter today, and whose origin and purpose are unknown (**Plate 4.3.5**).

Schulz described collapsed blocks lying on the 'floor' of the cave with paintings on them. She recorded the parietal imagery in some detail and how it was articulated across the surface of the rock from one panel to another. Her notes illustrate how difficult it is to describe images in text, as they meander in a highly selective fashion without an explanation of why certain figures were written down and/or copied and many others left out. She did not, as Van Riet Lowe did almost twenty years later, structure her description by numbering or lettering the panels, though she did follow a systematic order of panels according to their spatial arrangement, starting with the biggest one at the far right end of the shelter and moving towards the left (in the 1940s Van Riet Lowe attributed this panel with the letter "A"). But beyond this panel-to-panel order, one has the sense that, faced with such an abundance of figures, she was disoriented and did not know how to 'read' the pictorial 'fabric', where to start or how to describe the relationships between figures. She moved alternately from left to right or right to left, up and down as well as down and up, seeming to follow the direction of the movement of the figures or a trajectory guided by their similarity or visual relationships. She was nonetheless able to capture something sufficiently specific about the painted figures for most of them to be matched up with the copies and photographs. But not all the

paintings she described in her notes were recorded pictorially, and some images were copied and not written about or photographed.

Weyersberg, for her part, only mentioned one painted area in her more succinct and impressionistic account: a "wall surface of *ca*. 4m [that] was covered with somewhat damaged [paintings]" (1929a: 88). Schulz commenced her notes with this same surface, which is about 3m long and 2m high, and is still attached to the back wall of the shelter, while all the other paintings were on smaller loose blocks, some of which were very difficult to see because of other large blocks lying in front of them (1929: 7). The order of her notes serves to structure my description of the expedition's recording.

FIRST PANEL:

"PREDOMINANTLY HUMAN FIGURES ALONG THE BOTTOM"

Schulz began by describing a scene unfolding along the lower section of the first, biggest, panel (**Plate 4.3.6**). Two pages of her notes (1929: 7-8) follow quite closely the figures depicted in one of the large-format copies. Weyersberg and Mannsfeld shared the task of creating this colourful watercolour, which was over 3m long and captured a procession of human, animal and therianthropic figures. They titled the work "*Langer Fries, Zug von Männern und Frauen*", (long frieze, row of men and women) and the elongated rectangular format does indeed create the effect of a frieze, a broad horizontal band comprising a sequence of figures that seem to be articulated in a linear fashion within it (**Plate 4.3.7**).

Most of the figures depicted are located at a certain distance from the upper and lower edges of the paper, without touching them; a small number are interrupted by this boundary. Schulz observed successive rows of female figures of different lengths, some with tails, walking from left to right, in various shades of brown with exaggerated concavely arched lower backs and carrying strange objects. She identified male figures of similar size and colour walking from right to left. Further along she noted several distinctive giant figures, thicker and taller than the rest: a woman's torso with arms outstretched, a headless and footless figure, and a woman bending forward and twisting her head and arms backward. Still further along to the right she recorded the upper body of a man in brown, carrying a bright indistinct object marked with two dark stripes on a curious backward-stretched arm that reminded the artists of the posture of a Garuda. Below (in a stratigraphic sense) these layers of human activity she observed faded brown and red eland and mentions several times the damage and deterioration across this zone. In their pictorial copy, Weyersberg and Mannsfeld also accurately included the damage and gaps within the original, without filling anything in. The sensitivity of their portrayal is visible in the way they rendered a jagged horizontal zone of exfoliation meandering like a tear across the middle of their composition. Although framed within an elongated, rectangular format, theirs is not merely a copy of the paint as a graphic 'skin' applied in surface, but a portrayal of a continuous field of painted, disintegrated and unpainted patches. The Frobenius artists did not give in to the temptation to 'connect the dots'. Le Quellec et al. (2009: 70) have also noted Schulz's interpretive restraint with regards to her copy of the famous and much recorded cattle panel from Christol Cave, qualifying hers as one of the more accurate versions.

Separating this frieze-like zone from the paintings higher up on the same panel were "distinct streaks from ongoing exfoliation" (Schulz 1929: 9). Several jagged lines of exfoliation are visible

in their photograph of this painted wall, and appear as if they are horizontally scraped into the stone surface. Above these streaks Schulz described an area with painted eland and other antelope, several of which appear to be grazing around a large snake. The second large-format copy of the Cinyati series is her copy of this zone in colour pencil on grey paper, and a further two pages of her notebook describe in words the zone covered by her copy (1929: 9-10; **Plate 4.3.8**, **4.3.9**). Schulz's snake painting was published in colour in Frobenius's *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931a: Tafel 127) but the original work cannot currently be located in the vaults of the Frobenius Institute, nor was a copy included in the set bequeathed to the South African Museum. I therefore have not been able to acquire a digital version of the original and have based my work on a scan of the published plate. (The original may yet materialize as the remaining large-format copies are digitized and curated.)

Schulz noted a spotted "predator or similar beast" in the antelope's midst and this may refer to a blotchy yellow and black animal on the left side of her copy. But by far the most unique individual figure depicted on this panel was a snake that she estimated to be about 1.7m long (1929: 9). She described its colours and patterning in some detail: a white belly and blackish brownish back with a double row of white dots along the upper contour. She depicted the snake's head at the right end of the animal's body, with an unusual elongated, curved snout protruding perpendicularly to the body. The head was white in colour with a dark contour along the top and mottled in such as way that she wasn't sure where to place the eye. She observed that most of the animals in this zone did not overlap, the snake being an exception, its head and neck overlapping with two eland. In her copy the snake seems to be resting its head in the dorsal curve of one of the eland. A bend in the serpent's body further down also appears to rest on the back of an eland. Schulz placed the snake across the centre of her composition, but she depicted the other figures with equal attention across the full field of her composition. Similarly, she also coloured in and textured the void between the figures—the unpainted rock surface—in almost as much detail. Equal attention was also given to the figures along the lateral margins that were truncated by the edge of the paper. Although an inevitable consequence of the use of standard rectangular formats, the creation of an orthogonally framed composition around a rock painting is somewhat oxymoronic because there is nothing analogous to the frame in the original, but inevitably the result is a new orthogonally framed composition. But unlike other copyists who deleted figures from within the rectangle to forge a new composition, perceived to be coherent in isolation, many of the Frobenius copies are rather more like continuous sections cut out of a wider pictorial fabric. The placement of the frame may have been influenced by what it included, but was not exclusionary beyond this. This kind of sectioning points to a wider context of which they were not able to capture the full extent. Because of this concern for capturing the pictorial continuity of the original rock paintings (constrained by the tools at their disposal), they did not capture every intricate detail of each figure and in neither of the two copies of the first panel is there a dominant focal point or central zone of tension.

SECOND PANEL:

"ON A LARGE FALLEN-DOWN BLOCK"

The next panel about which Schulz took notes was located on a large, tilted and angular slice of rock that had fallen away from the back wall of the shelter, located below and to the left (looking in) of the snake mural (**Plate 4.3.10**). Schulz's lateral panoramic photograph into the shelter provides the most complete extant view of this rock segment. Although it is only a small feature within a

wide angle, the negative is of sufficient quality that one can zoom in to see some of the painted figures. The white contours of a walking feline hook the gaze, standing out with uncanny clarity; this animal can be matched with the feline portrayed in one of the medium-format copies created by Weyersberg (**Plate 4.3.11**).

Other painted imagery is also more faintly discernible across the block, and with the help of Schulz's notes describing the paintings from right to left, two other medium-format copies, one each by Mannsfeld and Schulz, can be associated with this panel (**Plates 4.3.12**, **4.3.13**). Schulz's notes go on to describe the left side of the block that is hidden behind another large fallen-down block; the paintings in this obstructed area are the subject of two small-format copies by Mannsfeld (**Plate 4.3.14**).

Schulz's notes tend towards the descriptive—concerned with the visual appearance of the rock imagery without delving into the deeper meaning—more like ekphrasis than interpretation. This descriptiveness is matched by the tentativeness of the visual translations. A feature she describes as "white somewhat oval dots with red stripes across the middle" look very much like bees, but she does not advance this construal (1929: 12) as others did subsequently in the context of an interest in honey-related subjects supported by ethnographic observation (e.g. Guy 1972: 162). Another figure that she might easily have interpreted as a corpse, she described as a "female figure lying down with white head, garment somewhat bluish pink" (1929: 11; see **Plate 4.3.13**, where this discrete figure is visible lower right of centre). Elsewhere, she pronounced mild aesthetic judgments, as in the "badly drawn buck-like animals" standing outside the herd of small antelope.

As with the previous recorded panel, the paintings here are layered and multi-directional, a flowing field of interconnected figures and groups. But unlike the previous panel with its relatively flat and vertical, wall-like structure, the second panel did not lend itself as easily to orthogonal formats because its painted face was more irregular and partially obstructed by other blocks. The Frobenius artists' solution was to create multiple smaller copies that are closely contiguous without overlapping. A collage of these copies compared with the photograph of the whole panel shows that they cover, almost like tiles, the larger part of the painted imagery on this block (**Plates 4.3.15**, **4.3.16**).

As it is impossible to project an irregularly warped and textured surface accurately onto a flat plane, at times the copies were created at slight angles in relation to one another and necessarily present some distortion. As with the previous examples, these isolated pictures are not organized like conventional framed, internally coherent compositions in the Western tradition. But, while they point to a wider context, the manner in which they relate to one another is not visible within the copies themselves. It only becomes apparent when the copies are contextualized.

The only copy that presents a convincing internally coherent composition that is more conventional in terms of Western artistic canons, is the one produced by Mannsfeld depicting a striding procession of human figures (**Plate 4.3.12**). This procession was clearly seen as a significant group, and she centred it on the sheet of paper, organizing the rest of the composition around it. In this example, she did exclude some of the overlapping or adjacent figures and remnants within the area covered by the copy.

A comparison of the two versions of this composition (one from the Frobenius Institute and one from the Iziko collections) shows that they are framed in different ways. The Iziko version is proportionately taller, with more space between the central row of figures and the top and bottom edges of the sheet of paper, while the Frankfurt copy is more horizontally elongated, with the top

and bottom edges cropped more closely to the figures. The Frankfurt version is classified as original expedition material (*alpha-Material*) whereas the Iziko version was derived from the first copies made upon the expedition's return to Germany (*beta-Material*), but oddly the Iziko version covers a wider field of composition. It is therefore likely that the first "alpha" copy was cropped at a later stage to fit a desired format. It has a dark grey border around it and at some stage was mounted on another kind of paper or board, possibly for the requirements of an exhibition. Here it can be seen how the copies acquire an independent life and can be resampled for the needs of the present, without any consideration of the original rock imagery. It suggests that other copies may also have been cropped in this way, causing the margins of the original copies to be discarded.

THIRD PANEL:

"LARGE RED HUMAN FIGURE … WITH ELEPHANT'S TRUNKS AND TUSKS"

Schulz goes on to describe a third panel, which was presumably situated to the left of the second panel (since she was moving from right to left). Reading the paintings from left to right within this panel, she noted the presence of a "strange animal [with] human head and legs bent the wrong way for an animal" and a row of almost identical female figures "increasing in size towards the back of the line", noteworthy perhaps because they challenged her Western sense of perspective. Moving further along, she observed a "large red human figure, yellowish-white outline, with elephant's trunk and tusks" (Schulz 1929: 13), and a little further still, several buffalo in "bluish paint with white horns and belly". There is unfortunately no photograph of this panel, and Schulz's summary description does not allow a clear visualization of how the sets of figures they copied were positioned in relation to one another (**Plate 4.3.17**).

This 'Elephant Man' personage is one of the very few images that Weyersberg included in her brief account of the rock paintings at this shelter: "[p]articularly noteworthy was a stooped forward human figure with elephant head and trunk" (1929a: 89). Her copy of this character is the earliest I have found and it stands as the founding image of a genealogy of 'Elephant Man' copies (e.g. Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 163; Frobenius 1931a: Tafel 116; Frobenius & Breuil 1931: 12; **Cat. V**).

Of all the painted figures captured at Cinyati, it is clearly one of those that most intrigued Frobenius. In what he called the "southern style" of African rock paintings, he was struck by the frequent depictions of figures comprised of human bodies with animal heads, without knowing what to make of them:

> At times one is inclined to think that these are hunting masks. But when one sees an elephant with its natural limbs or a ram-man walking next to a vulture-man, one relinquishes this idea (Haberland 1973: 97).

In May 1937, this "man with elephant head" was selected for display at the Museum of Modern Art in New York at the occasion of an exhibition titled, "Prehistoric rock pictures in Europe and Africa—from the material in the archives of the Research Institute for the Morphology of Civilization, Frankfort-on-Main" (Frobenius & Fox 1972: 49, 78). It was the only picture from Cinyati to be selected and through this focussed attention and replication, the 'Elephant Man' emerged as Cinyati's icon.[4]

[4] 'Elephant Man' is also currently part of public displays at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum in various forms ("Rock art from Mohwabane Shelter" display case) and the Origins Centre, University of the Witwatersrand ("Altered states" lightbox).

FOURTH PANEL:

"THE HEAD OF THE LEADING ANIMAL IS LOWERED, HORNS POINTING FORWARD"

Schulz described a fourth block displaying a group of four eland (one looks in fact like a cow because its horns are pointing outwards), with the animal at the front of the group lowering its head confrontationally towards an animal she referred to as a buffalo pictured a short distance further along the block. In Schulz's lateral photograph, Weyersberg can be seen examining the group of four animals that fit this description painted in the lower right-hand corner of a long horizontal block jutting out into the shelter's central space (**Plate 4.3.18**). Astonishingly, although I estimate the photographer to have been standing about 50m away and this photograph is slightly out of focus, this same painted imagery can be discerned in the frontal site photograph (although the individual rock-painted figures are naturally less distinct in this view). The photographs the Frobenius artists took were at times strikingly sharp and detailed.[5] It was possible to cut out and stretch the oblique view of this block, and to graft it onto the distant frontal view, to obtain a roughly perpendicular perspective of the panel based on the frontal photograph (**Plate 4.3.19**).

A lion-like feline towards the left end of the block is more clearly visible in this stretched view. It also becomes apparent that Weyersberg's copy of this panel is a reorganized composition, in which she moved the group and feline closer together as if to stage a confrontation between them. Pager had reported the loss of this lion following the 1947 removals (discussed in section 4.6), as this panel was "badly broken and the lower part of the elands as well as the lion were lost" (1962: 45). Others supposed the lion to be a product of Frobenius's imagination, evidence of the 'artistic licence' that early copyists are easily suspected of.[6] As it turns out, the feline did exist and was not completely lost; artistic licence was used instead to create a new composition in which Weyersberg changed the relationship between a group and a figure as if they could be moved around like discrete independent units. Between them, four faded and fragmentary eland/antelope figures that were visible on the rock in between were omitted. These comprised rough, plain, faded and more rudimentary images of animals in profile, some appearing to be drawn with chalk or crayon. Their tarnished appearance might suggest greater antiquity, but they could also be more recent; however, either way they were not of the same careful craftsmanship. Although, as Schulz also points out, the biggest and brightest of these less naturalistic animals appears to acknowledge the challenging posture of the eland with its lowered head, Weyersberg chose to replace this opponent with the feline, also appearing confrontational, crouched down with its tail turned up at the end. The figure of the lion was possibly easily moved because it was somewhat solitary in its original location in the otherwise empty left end of the panel. Alternatively, Weyersberg may have employed a subtle code to indicate that these came from different parts of the same panel: there is a shaded line beneath each part indicating the bottom edge of the block and it is discontinuous between the two halves of her composition.

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[5] We haven't identified the model or brand of cameras used for the Natal expedition, but at least two plate cameras were present, one for the 9 x 12cm and another for the 13 x 18cm formats. Some of the images were captured on glass plates and some on film negatives (Peter Steigerwald pers. comm. 2011).

[6] Notes from Ward to Dowson (undated but in reply to Dowson's letter to Mazel, 7 November 1990). RARI (VRL Box 2; unnumbered).

FIFTH AND SIXTH PANELS:

A FAMILY OF ELAND AND A HUNTING SCENE

Schulz summarily described a further two panels, but does not indicate their location (1929: 14). One of these comprised the "completely smudged eland bodies in ochre, head, neck, legs gone", two of which were large, about double the size of the small one, presumably a calf. No human figures were present here. Further along, possibly on the same block, she observed two large eland in pale English red[7] with belly, neck and legs in white alongside a young one. Below one of the eland she saw a running figure in *caput mortum*[8] and another figure in the same faded English red pigment as the eland. No copies were made of these figures. In Schulz's lateral photograph into the shelter, several faded eland shapes are visible on the side of the block on which the fourth panel is situated; these seem to correspond with the first part of her description but the rest of this rock surface was hidden by a long, thin slab of rock resting up against it.

The final panel Schulz described in her notes is a "completely barricaded stone that can hardly be seen and cannot be copied". In this area of approximately one metre in length she observed a hunting scene, including about a dozen very slender antelope, and about nine animated archers running around them in monochrome brown paint. This panel was neither photographed nor copied.

Eleven of the thirteen copies can be identified in Schulz's notes and attributed to four of the six panels described by her, while I have not identified the original figures depicted in two of the copies (**Plate 4.3.20**).

Sunday 3 February 1929 was the Frobenius artists' last day at Cinyati. By about noon, Weyersberg had finished her share of the Cinyati task and left her two colleagues behind to finish theirs, while she travelled further up the Valley to *Oberer Cinyati* (side-trip with which I dealt in section 4.1).

A SITE RECORDING REUNITED

The 1929 recording of Cinyati by Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg resulted in a set of documents and images that portray the cave on two distinct levels: as a panoramic gallery of paintings produced by a vanished way of life, and as a rock shelter embedded within a living landscape inhabited by a Zulu-speaking farming community. The recording gives an impression of true teamwork, so that the various parts fit together as a multi-authored whole, where individual authorship is not obvious.

The archive so produced is, however, not easily accessible as a whole: it has been compartmentalized and scattered into published plates, notebooks, photographic negatives, painted copies and catalogues, and has not been reassembled into a site-specific bundle until now. Knowledge of the site was perpetuated by the pictures that made their way into print or exhibition. A number of painted copies feature in Frobenius's expedition 'chronicle' *Madsimu Dsangara*: five black-and-white plates (Tafeln 96, 103, 104, 107, 114) and three coloured plates (Tafeln 105, 116, 127). The 'Elephant Man' is included in his book *Erythräa* (1931b: 296), as well as a photograph taken in front of Cinyati of a young Zulu woman ("*Zulumädchen*"; Frobenius 1931b: Tafel 1; **Cat.**

[7] A colour belonging to the Vermilion family (Weber 1923: 117); a variety of bright red.

[8] A colour belonging to the Red Iron Oxide family (Weber 1923: 64); a deep purplish-red brown pigment.

IV) but the location is not specified. Frobenius does not write anything site-specific about Cinyati in these books; there is a significant remove between the materials collected during the expeditions and Cinyati's 'public face'.

The digitization of the archive has facilitated a reunification of this material. This chapter examines the recording in terms of its internal logic, as it follows the original structure of the site. Without knowing or being able to say much about the paintings' "meaning", the Frobenius artists produced copies that accurately reflect many aspects of the originals. In several cases they attempted to capture wider views, resorting to technically challenging formats in order to grapple with the site's 'mural' painting. It is not always clear why they chose to frame the images the way they did, but, rather than each copy representing a new composition that stands on its own, they seem to attempt to speak to a wider visual context. The Frobenius women also captured detailed information about the site's and the paintings' context. Their writings demonstrate how difficult it is to describe imagery in text, and so remain tentative. Perhaps they saw their role as simply to capture 'raw data', leaving interpretations or explanations up to the man they worked for, but it is still remarkable that they did not read, either graphically or verbally, Phoenicians, Europeans or other foreign elements into the paintings as others did (e.g. Dart 1925; Breuil 1948, 1949). Prior to an ethnographically grounded approach, the 'Elephant Man' as a hybrid figure seems nonetheless to hold a particular fascination. Their copies are not as detailed in terms of figural iconography as 'modern' traced copies would be, and it might be said that their copies are not 'accurate' because they did not know the ethnography. But for colour and painterly qualities, and the way in which they reflect the pictorial continuity of the originals, their copies are more accurate than most copies produced presently. I would say that they attempted to copy the paintings according *to what they saw*, and not according to what they *knew*.

The following year the expedition returned home (in March 1930) with a substantial body of rock art copies in tow. Although a short time later a selection of secondary copies was returned to South Africa, southern African rock art workers have for the most part only had access to a narrow published selection (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930; Frobenius & Breuil 1931; Frobenius 1931a; Frobenius & Fox 1972). This published selection stood for the expedition's entire achievement, but the wider archive has been central to my research.

4.4

Ebusingata: the Van Riet Lowe archive

A UNION-WIDE SURVEY OF ROCK ART SITES

When Clarence Van Riet Lowe was appointed Director of the government's newly formed Bureau of Archaeology based at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1935, he had the ambitious vision for this organization to support a staff "with their tentacles reaching into every cave and donga in the Union" (Van Riet Lowe 1954: 151). Shortly after his appointment he produced a circular letter through the Department of the Interior initiating a correspondence survey of rock art sites across the Union of South Africa,[1] building on earlier lists compiled by Isaac Schapera and John Goodwin of the University of Cape Town (Van Riet Lowe 1941: 1). This was the first major task he set himself in his new directorial position (Willcox 1962: 59).

As described in the first section of this chapter about eBusingatha's early archival trail (section 4.1), Van Riet Lowe became aware of the "well known cave where a serpent is depicted" through his correspondence with Gilbert Randles in 1936.[2] He was then entirely unfamiliar with the area and expressed the wish to visit the site, asking Randles if he could advise on how to go about it and where to find accommodation.[3] He received several independent reports about damage to the site[4] and intended visiting the Natal National Park area in early 1937[5] but did not then find the time, as "with various congresses in progress… [he was] completely inundated".[6] He did however write to the proprietor of the Natal National Park Hostel to appeal to him to "let visitors know how valuable these paintings are, and to ask them not to light fires where smoke may damage the paintings and not to scribble their initials over the pictures"—generally to "do what [he] can to instruct interested visitors in the archaeological value of the paintings", proposing as a member of the Historical Monuments Commission to "take steps as soon [as possible] to recommend that all the paintings in [that] area be proclaimed under Act No. 4 of 1934".[7]

In the 1930s, the recording of the rock art of the Drakensberg was still a pioneer's domain. In 1937, John Young of the Natal Museum wrote to Van Riet Lowe to express his wish to compile a record for the paintings "East of the Drakensberg" and to enquire about the recorded locations of

[1] The document was entitled 'Prehistoric art in South Africa' (1936). ASW (Vol. 73 B24 Vol. I).

[2] Letter from Randles to Van Riet Lowe, 18 September 1936. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

[3] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Randles, 21 August 1936. Ibid.

[4] e.g. Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 3 February 1937 (in which he speaks about a visit to the site in 1923). RARI (SARADA: VRL-ECT-002); Fermor to Haughton, 14 October 1936. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

[5] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Proprietor of the Natal National Park Hostel, 21 October 1936. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

[6] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Randles, 28 September 1936. Ibid.

[7] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Proprietor of the Natal National Park Hostel, 21 October 1936. Ibid.

sites and whether these had been "satisfactorily traced and reproduced".[8] Van Riet Lowe's response was that, "[v]ery little copying of paintings [had] been done apart from those published in the standard reference books" but that his own records included a "good collection of photographs of paintings in the National Park by Mr. H. C. B. Wylde-Browne of Estcourt".[9] This collection was, of course, far from exhaustive. Wylde-Browne himself dreamt of further creating as complete a pictorial record as possible and in his ongoing attempts to find interesting temporary employment, he sought the financial support of the Historical Monuments Council to photograph the "best remaining Bushman paintings before they disappear entirely";[10] sadly he was repeatedly told that there were no funds available.[11]

A FOCUS ON EBUSINGATA

Resources were limited but there was much work to be done and Van Riet Lowe kept very busy at the head of the Bureau. He made what was possibly his first visit to Ebusingata in December 1945 and traced a selection of painted imagery at this time with the help of his daughter Anne (**Cat. VI**). Upon returning from this field trip he submitted a report to the Historical Monuments Commission, hoping that as a result of his intervention steps would be taken towards the protection of these vulnerable paintings.[12]

In 1946, Prime Minister Jan Smuts initiated a plan for the British royal family to visit the "classic" cave of Ebusingata to view its paintings during the official royal visit in 1947. It is not known how he set his sights on this particular cave, but it could have been through Van Riet Lowe's reports or the publicity generated by the Frobenius expedition, or both. Smuts had a longstanding interest in prehistory and became an official patron of formal archaeological research; Van Riet Lowe was a good friend and loyal supporter (Schlanger 2002). General Jan Smuts met Frobenius and other members of the German expedition in December 1928 in Pretoria at a small and exclusive exhibition of the expedition's work that was attended by a number of other prominent political figures and diplomats, including Prime Minister Hertzog; at this occasion Smuts expressed interest in the research they were carrying out on Bushman rock art (Weyersberg 1929a: 76-7). A leg of the expedition travelled to Natal only the following year but Smuts is likely to have come into contact with their work again subsequently during their over one and a half years' exploration in the region. Other displays and presentations of the Frobenius material were organized during the Germans' stay in South Africa, one of which took place during the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in the winter of 1929 (Frobenius 1931b: 49).[13] Painted copies of the impressive parietal imagery from Cinyati may have been exhibited on this occasion. Moreover, Frobenius published the attractive double-volume *Madsimu Dsangara* in 1931, bringing further publicity to the paintings after the expedition had returned to Europe. Van Riet Lowe also met Frobenius at the British Association's meeting and it was then that he also first encountered a number of his other European colleagues, including the Abbé Breuil, Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Henry Balfour. Van Riet Lowe was disappointed by Frobenius's contribution to the sectional meetings; he

[8] Letter from Young to Van Riet Lowe, 8 April 1937. Ibid.

[9] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Young, 13 April 1937. Ibid.

[10] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 8 December 1937. Ibid.

[11] e.g. Letter from the Secretary of the Historic Monuments Commission to Wylde-Browne, 11 April 1938. Ibid.

[12] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Davis, 8 August 1946. Ibid.

[13] The meeting took place from 23 July to 3 August 1929 (Science Service 1929).

felt he was a "great and successful collector and an inveterate publisher of superficialities … in many ways he was a chancer, in others a charlatan" (Van Riet Lowe 1954: 132). He may not have liked Frobenius as a public academic figure but he was certainly influenced by the illustrations of rock art published under his name.

THE DECISION TO REMOVE THE PAINTINGS

Towards the end of September 1946, shortly after the meeting with the Provincial Secretary of Natal at which Smuts's idea of a royal visit to Ebusingata was tabled,[14] Van Riet Lowe set out to visit and assess the site in light of these prestigious plans. He returned "appalled to see how much damage had been done since [his] last visit a year [before]". Damage at this cave, both natural and human, had already been reported during the 1920s and 30s. It is unclear what exactly Van Riet Lowe perceived to have accumulated during the year 1946 alone that would have shocked him into taking a flurry of immediate measures in early October to have the paintings removed.[15]

In July 1946, Allan W. Davis of the Civil Service Club in Cape Town also reported that during a recent visit to this shelter he had found the paintings in a very unprotected state, suggesting that many of them had been "grossly disturbed [and] either removed altogether or smashed up".[16] It could be that Davis thought the shelter had been deliberately broken up because of its naturally fragmentary nature. Naturally, the pictorial record only bears partial witness to what took place in these years, but a comparison of photographs taken during the 1929 Frobenius expedition and photographs from the mid-1940s does not reveal any striking difference in terms of the painted panels' configuration or the overall layout of the shelter over this decade and a half (**Plates 4.4.1**, **4.4.2**).

Photographs from both 1929 and from the mid-1940s display scribbling and writing only on surfaces where no paintings were ever recorded, such as areas above two of the panels. It would seem as though visitors wrote their names alongside the paintings in a kind of deference, and not in order to deface them, problematizing the notion of this writing as graffiti in the sense of vandalism (cf. Ouzman 2010a). But Van Riet Lowe would have seen the graffiti as encroaching on the paintings, and this could have been sufficient to justify his concern (**Plate 4.4.3**).

Although there is little to show that the paintings' state of preservation had changed much in the intervening eighteen years, the lower part of the main snake panel constitutes one notable exception. It was severely affected by the flaking of its naturally friable surface, and this natural process would certainly have been accelerated by visitors touching or brushing by the paintings (**Plate 4.4.4**). But the vast majority of the painted figures copied by the Frobenius artists in 1929 can currently be matched up with originals on the removed museum pieces, and although faded, they do not carry any obvious evidence of graffiti or deliberate damage; most of the visible damage is rather the result of subsequent hotel and museum neglect as described by Hollmann and Msimanga (2008).

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[14] Note (47), probably a minute from a meeting, date-stamped 23 September 1946. A letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Secretary to the Prime Minister, 1 October 1946, suggests the meeting may have taken place on or before 12 September 1946. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

[15] Removal permit, 1 October 1946. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

[16] Letter from Davis to Van Riet Lowe, 26 July 1946. Ibid.

Hollmann and Msimanga have posed the question of whether the decision to resort to the extreme measure of physically removing the paintings was truly warranted (2008: 291) and were unable to find any conclusive documentary evidence of the vandalism to which Van Riet Lowe referred (2008: 297). It is perhaps unfair to suggest that he exaggerated the extent of the damage, but the exact nature of the vandalism remains unclear from the records we have, although evidently this cave was particularly vulnerable and worn down by people over time. The naturally broken and disorderly appearance of the cave also appears to have made people panic. Perhaps it was less the existing direct damage to the paintings themselves that he was reacting to and more the encroaching potential. For example, Van Riet Lowe was fearful of "stones or dung" being flung at them, but he also considered factors other than those directly affecting the imagery as contributing to the ruinous condition of the cave, for example the nature of the route to the site and damage and destruction around the paintings.[17] Contributing to the neglected appearance of the shelter was a loose-stack stone wall (of unknown authorship and function) enclosing a portion of the north half of the shelter; in photographs from 1929 this wall appears more intact while a photograph from 1946 shows that it had by then collapsed in part and the stones that had once been stacked were lying untidily across the slope below the shelter. Photographs from 1929 also show that local farmers were cultivating maize on the river floodplains below the shelter while, by the mid 1940s, the river had changed course, moving closer towards the cave and making cultivation immediately in front of the cave difficult. Perhaps the well-maintained wall was related to the nearby agricultural activities and this may account for its later abandonment and state of neglect (**Plate 4.4.1** and **4.4.2**).

Upon Van Riet Lowe's recommendation, the Provincial Secretary of Natal placed the responsibility for the removals into the hands of the provincial architect Noel Jackson, under whose supervision the hotel was being renovated in preparation for the royal visit. Van Riet Lowe initially envisaged that the removals would be completed during December 1946,[18] but they only began at the end of that month[19] and continued into early March 1947, ending immediately prior to the royal visit.[20]

The 1947 removals constitute the singularly most dramatic event in the recorded history of eBusingatha. Their purpose was ostensibly for the safe-keeping of the paintings, but Hollmann and Msimanga (2008) have suggested that motivations may have been more complex. Van Riet Lowe was greatly saddened by the prospect of the removal of the paintings from the "gallery for which they were intended" but seemed to feel it was the only solution, in view of the fact that the cave had been so badly vandalized[21] but he may have also been influenced by a more political incentive in light of General Jan Smuts's plans around the visit to South Africa of the British royal family in February/March of that same year. The original intention was for the royals to view the paintings *in situ* but Van Riet Lowe did not think this would be suitable due to the rock shelter's damaged state. To remove the paintings would save them from further damage but would also ensure that an appropriate selection could be viewed in suitable surroundings, on display at the Natal National Park Hotel where King George VI, his wife Elizabeth the Duchess of York and Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret stayed as guests from 13–17 March 1947.

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[17] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Secretary to the Prime Minister, 1 October 1946. Ibid.

[18] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Jackson, 1 October 1946. Ibid.

[19] Letter from Jackson to Van Riet Lowe, 6 November 1946. Ibid.

[20] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Battiss, 12 March 1947. SAHRA.

[21] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to General Jan Smuts, 1 October 1946. Ibid.

Although the fate of the paintings saddened him, Van Riet Lowe had a vision for their future. He expressed a strong wish to be involved in the initial phase of the removals, and the subsequent conception of the displays: the "mode or order of re-erection of [the] originals" and the "wording … of explanatory notices."[22] During his visit to assess the site in the last week of September 1946, the plan discussed between himself and Jackson was to incorporate the removed artworks into the walls of a "special room at the hostel"[23] that might be a "writing or card-room for adults only"[24] within the main hotel buildings. The incorporation of removed pieces of the "frescoed walls" into the structure of a building seemed to be for Van Riet Lowe an acceptable compromise, as the paintings would still to some extent be "preserved for posterity" embedded within their "natural surroundings".[25]

But in a subsequent letter, Jackson proposed a new scheme for the housing of the paintings "in a separate building, rather than to build them into the walls of the lounge."[26] I am uncertain as to the reasons behind this change of heart; perhaps the project of incorporation was simply too ambitious or disruptive. The new scheme proposed to place the paintings, along with "drawings and any other specimens of interest", in a "lockable Museum case" where the "object of not building [them] in [would be] to enable them to be moved around in the case, and to allow space for other specimens of Bushman art or Bushman utensils, etc" (**Plate 4.4.5**).

The glass cases were to be located in a building sited at the far end of the bowling green that would function primarily as a bowling pavilion. Van Riet Lowe expressed his disappointment with regards to this new plan but conceded that, as a somewhat rushed and make-shift solution, it would probably not prove final. He may have disliked the primary recreational function of this new venue: "I cannot picture a shelter for bowlers as a suitable museum for Bushman paintings".[27] Built into the lounge or other part of the main hotel building, they would also not have been destined to be a main attraction, but at least they would be embedded in the structure of the place, and not be a secondary add-on or afterthought.

"*IN EXTENSO*" RECORDING

Having handed the salvage instruction over to provincial authorities, Van Riet Lowe made arrangements to record the paintings prior to their removal, timing it so that at the same time he could supervise the initial phase of the delicate task. He considered the removals risky, and foresaw the inevitability of "further damage and the loss of certain specimens in the process of removing others", and thus recognized the importance of recording the original site in an intact state, for "[u]nless a detailed study is made of the whole before removal is started irreplaceable archaeological records may be forever lost"; he estimated that a detailed recording and study of the cave's paintings would take a "full fort-night's work" to complete.[28] He booked accommodation at the Natal National Park Hostel from 12 December 1946 through to 2 January 1947[29] and appealed to his

[22] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Secretary for the Interior, 1 October 1946. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Provincial Secretary, 1 October 1946. Ibid.

[25] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Secretary for the Interior, 1 October 1946. Ibid.

[26] Letter from Jackson to Van Riet Lowe, 29 October 1946. Ibid.

[27] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Jackson, 31 October 1946. Ibid.

[28] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Secretary for the Interior, 1 October 1946. Ibid.

[29] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Provincial Secretary, 25 October 1946. Ibid.

artist friend and fellow scholar of Bushman art, Walter Battiss, to join him in this task of copying Ebusingata's paintings *in extenso*.[30] He was quite insistent that Battiss should join him if at all possible, motivating that it would be his "last chance to 'do' this most classic site".[31] In his characteristically lyrical style, Battiss replied to say he was honoured and pleased by Van Riet Lowe's invitation, finding the prospect of the Natal expedition most attractive. Despite having to renegotiate prior commitments, not having a car fit for long journeys and experiencing trouble booking accommodation at the hostel due to the refurbishments in progress,[32] Battiss was nonetheless able to join up with him two days after he arrived.[33] Because there was no room at the hostel, he camped (1948: 184). He had a short time prior received a research grant from the Council for Educational, Sociological and Humanistic Research to document caves in the Giant's Castle area of Drakensberg and elsewhere in the vicinity, and it is possible that he modified the grant itinerary to include a trip to Ebusingata on Van Riet Lowe's suggestion (**Plates 4.4.6**, **4.4.7**).[34]

WALTER BATTISS AND THE "ROBBING THE TOMB" COMPLEX

Battiss, a prolific and celebrated artist (Carman & Isaac 2005), spent a good deal of time, especially in his early career, creating copies of rock artworks and searching for new sites in between his responsibilities as an art teacher to the Department of Education. In the 1940s he was considered an authority on San parietal art (Lewis-Williams et al. 2000: 124) and during this period his "creative artist was often overshadowed by the expounder of prehistoric Rock Art" (Schoonraad 1985: 40). He published several books and other works on the Bushmen and their art (e.g. 1939, 1945, 1948) as well as other books on African art, including rock art (1942, 1958). He was influential in bringing ancient rock art traditions to the attention of a fine art and wider audience, and was also greatly inspired by the paintings for his own creative work; he believed himself to be the first artist from a Western background to use southern African rock art as a direct reference (Schoonraad 1976: 11). While his ideas on interpretation and chronology have been largely overtaken by new research, correspondence between him and Van Riet Lowe reveals a serious and passionate dialogue between two friends and colleagues attempting to untangle the meaning behind the paintings, the identity of the painters and the relationship between the art and other archaeological materials (Mason 1989: 137-66). Although not an archaeologist himself, his enthusiasm and dedication to the study of artefacts from the forgotten past influenced others to become archaeologists (e.g. Mason 1989: 138).

Van Riet Lowe had a very high opinion of Battiss's work, and he admired and supported his production of pictorial copies wholeheartedly (Schoonraad 1985: 40). It may seem surprising that Van Riet Lowe, who found the experience of removing paintings from Ebusingata so upsetting, also officially commended activities of rock art removal under Battiss's direction. From a contemporary perspective, some consider these removal activities to have been executed "indiscriminately" and they would certainly not be condoned by archaeological authorities today; at the same time Battiss's removed pieces presently constitute "great cultural treasures" and benefit from privileged institutional care (Lewis-Williams et al. 2000: 124). The question of whether or how best to select

[30] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Battiss, 25 October 1946. Ibid.

[31] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Battiss, 27 November 1946. Ibid.

[32] Letters from Battiss to Van Riet Lowe, 24 November & 2 December 1946, and one undated (probably early November). Ibid.

[33] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Malan, 20 December 1946. Ibid.

[34] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Battiss, 6 December 1946, Ibid.

paintings for removal is clearly not an easy one in any period and Battiss's feelings on the topic were complex (Henry 2007: 47). An excerpt from a letter he wrote to Van Riet Lowe expresses his feelings of ambiguity—how he felt caught between two evils and how at times he opted to leave paintings *in situ* rather than remove them, showing that he did in fact act discriminately, albeit with a different approach than the one rock art researchers adopt today:

> One eland was removed [and] the disintegrated body broke. The other eland I left intact as I wish it to be unspoilt. I think it is useless to go nibbling this way. A whole face of rock must be removed and saved for posterity … no rock must be removed UNLESS IT CAN BE REMOVED INTACT. The stone masons on the job must be able to guarantee a clean removal without breakages of any kind or say, "it can't be done." I would like a very frank discussion with you, as my conscience worries me a bit when the stone mason has a mishap and he blames the rock. I am torn between the Scylla of letting the paintings alone to die a natural death, or the Charybdis of trying to save them [and] spoiling some—(of the amputation of a limb to save the body.) All the last Bushman paintings are doomed within 50 years or less—I could rub them all off with a wet scrubbing brush. The earlier prehistoric paintings are very faint and confused but can be seen when wet. They won't alter much in a century or so in some cases. However, what is in a glass case in a museum is the safest of all. The "robbing the tomb" complex worries me a bit and the beauty of the place where the stone is removed has gone for ever as far as I am concerned. I have never wished to return to a site where I have removed paintings. On the other hand I am happy when I know some are safe in a museum at the cost of my own personal ache.
>
> I feel very deeply the responsibility resting on me in my duty to the state in saying "remove" or "do not remove". I know you trust me implicitly and that is why I want your help to do what is right in the future.[35]

THE REMOVALS

As requested, Jackson held the removals over until Van Riet Lowe arrived on 12 December 1946.[36] Soon after the removals had started, Van Riet Lowe reported that the work was going well but that it presented difficulties because the sandstone was extremely brittle, and the stonemason was inexperienced with this sort of rock. He was both physically and technically involved in the removals, taking the decision to stop using wedges while he waited for a special saw to arrive from Pietermaritzburg.[37] When he wasn't helping with the removals, he was recording the paintings with Battiss and, despite difficult summer weather, he qualified their collaborative work as "splendid".[38] He declared that between them they had created a "full record of the paintings" that comprised "copies of everything in the cave, before removals were started."[39]

Yet this *in extenso* documentation, whatever it may have entailed, largely eludes us today. Other than several photographs showing partial views of the site (tentatively attributed to Van Riet Lowe; **Cat. VIII**), a section sketch and a brief description of the art *in situ* published by Battiss in his book *The artists of the rocks* (1948: 73), Hollmann and Msimanga were unable to find more complete records "about the original location of the removed art or the removal process" (2008: 297). I have

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[35] Letter from Battiss to Van Riet Lowe, 22 April 1947. ASW (Vol. 73 B24 Pt IV).

[36] Letter from Jackson to Van Riet Lowe, ?26 November 1946. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[37] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Malan, 20 December 1946. Ibid.

[38] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Malan, 22 December 1946. Ibid.

[39] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Wylde-Browne, 4 January 1947. Ibid.

since uncovered a number of unaccessioned and uncatalogued pictorial records, including tracings and a watercolour by Battiss, tracings and a sketch by Van Riet Lowe and tracings by his daughter Anne (**Cat. VI**, **VII**) as well as three painted rocks that were removed from Ebusingata and taken to Johannesburg instead of being housed at the Natal National Park, but whose site provenance had been lost (**Cat. IX**). But while we cannot know what Van Riet Lowe considered to be a comprehensive recording, I surmise it would have been a more complete and internally coherent record than that which I have been able to piece together. The Ebusingata record is spread across various archives[40] and it is patchy, hinting at the existence of a larger, more comprehensive body of work. The Walter Battiss archive has also not necessarily been exhausted, as a large collection of primary tracings has recently been donated to RARI by his son, Giles Battiss, where they will be restored and digitized in due course (Benjamin Smith pers. comm. 2011). Many of them are, however, highly fragile, will require specialized curation and are thus not available for scrutiny at present.

The chronology of the recording is also somewhat confusing. Van Riet Lowe writes, "[before the salvage operations] a complete record of what was left of the paintings was made by myself and my daughter assisted by Walter Battiss of Pretoria" (c.1947: 3). According to the date notations on the tracings themselves, the site was documented by him once in December 1945 (accompanied by his daughter) and once again in December 1946 (accompanied by Battiss). This first set of recordings was not carried out in light of the site's imminent dismantling, as it dates to approximately ten months before the decision to remove the paintings was taken. The 1945 excursion may have simply been part of an occasion for Van Riet Lowe to combine fieldwork with a family holiday to the Natal National Park around Christmas time. Documents created in 1945 include ten tracings in pencil on tracing paper by Van Riet Lowe dated between 19 and 30 December. His daughter Anne produced three tracings, two of which are dated 20 December and one of which is undated but probably dates to the same time.[41] In several cases he followed the Frobenius expedition's lead by choosing to trace and redraw some of the same scenes (**Plate 4.4.9**). From his various tracings, Van Riet Lowe produced a compilation of redrawings on two sheets of tracing paper also dated December 1945 (**Plates 4.4.8**, **4.4.10**). One of these shows his grappling with the 'stratigraphy' of the paintings as he tried to tease out the various layers within each panel (**Plate 4.4.11**).

Redrawn figures include two distinctive polychrome felines, one leaping through the air and one walking as if quietly and stealthily. Van Riet Lowe published these on the front cover of the July 1946 edition of *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (**Plate 4.4.12**, **Fig. 4.4.1**) before their physical removal had been envisaged. Only one of his tracings and a schematic frontal sketch of the shelter with the panels lettered A to F were part of his contribution to the recording created the following year as the removals loomed (**Plate 4.4.13**). This single sketch has, however, been a singularly powerful visual tool in my efforts to piece the shelter back together. It engages well with the Frobenius recording and I use Van Riet Lowe's panel configuration to structure the reconstruction section of this chapter (section 4.6).

[40] RARI (various archives: VRL, WB, photographic, rock collection), ADW (VRL archive), KZNM (rock art archive). I have been unable to locate Van Riet Lowe's primary site records, and his photographic archive is also dispersed: loose prints are located across different folders but are not individually accessioned and the location of the negatives is usually unknown.

[41] She recalls being eleven or twelve years old when she first visited Ebusingata with her father, which would have been around 1937 or 1938 since she was born in 1926 (Anna Fradan pers. comm. 2010); not surprisingly, however, her memories are not always very clear.

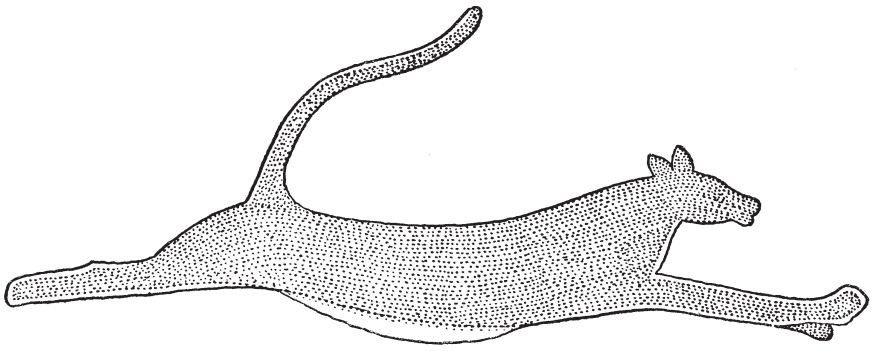
On this sketch, Van Riet Lowe labelled the biggest panel situated at the far right-hand side of the shelter as Panel A. He estimated its painted surface to cover 80 square feet (+-7.4m²) and described its painted imagery as an "old maroon fresco [with] p.[olychrome] elands, snake &c." He attributed most of its paintings to the "Period of the Eland", but identified older paintings underneath. Panel B, (also labelled "middle panel"), was located on a separate block to the left (looking in) of Panel A. Its painted surface covered 40 square feet (+-3.7m²) and fell under the "Period of the Rhebuck". Panel C, was located on the underside of a block that had fallen from the face of B and covered a modest 2 square feet (+-0.2m²). Van Riet Lowe did not assign a period to it, but assumed it to be significantly older because of its position in relation to Panel B. Panel D featured "pure Post-Bantu paintings" on the front side of a long rectangular slab covering 16 square feet (+-1.5m²). Panel E was situated below D and covered 30 square feet (2.8m²). Panel F was situated below E and covered 6 square feet (+-0.6 m²). According to his scheme, Panels E and F also belonged to the "Post-Bantu Bushman" period.

There is some overlap between the figures that were copied in 1945 and 1946 but most of the 1946 tracings were created by Battiss, and in this year Van Riet Lowe would have relied heavily on the artist to capture the imagery (**Plates 4.4.14**, **15**). Battiss used techniques at Ebusingata that he had developed after being involved in copying rock artworks for some time. He experimented with different media, initially using linocuts (although this was primarily for rock engravings), a technique criticized by Berry Malan for departing too far from the originals (Schoonraad 1985: 43). He subsequently moved closer to replicating the rock artists' techniques in his choice of media. At Ebusingata he used smaller pieces of cellophane (presumably cut from a roll as needed) to cover the painted surface in mosaic fashion, placing symbols at the joins to connect the various pieces. He traced the figures in black (Indian?) ink with a view to producing a colour version in watercolour at a later stage, as suggested by his personalized colour annotations such as M or DM (= maroon or dark maroon), OYO, YO or DYO (= orange yellow ochre, yellow ochre or dark yellow ochre), BrR or DBrR (= brown red or dark brown red), BL (= black) and W (= white). Sometimes he wrote out more elaborate annotations such as, "Blue-grey blurb over large DM figure" or "DM over poly[chrome] eland" showing how, while trying to capture the subtle differences in colour, he was also grappling with superposition (**Plate 4.4.16**).

Battiss created a colour key in watercolour, matching paint mixtures along the edge of the paper with colours observed in the painted figures and the natural stone background (**Plate 4.4.6**). Van Riet Lowe also participated in this process, scribbling next to one of Battiss's colour swatches, "too dark, appreciably yellower". As Van Riet Lowe knew well, "[o]ne of the greatest difficulties that the archaeologist encounters in describing rock paintings lies in the adequate description of the intensity, tint and shade of each colour used" (1945: 13). Van Riet Lowe (1945) tried to resolve this problem through a colour classification system. Battiss himself was so intent on capturing the exact colour that at some stage he resorted to gluing actual fragments of painted rock into a booklet called "Colour code for rock paintings" (**Plate 4.4.17**).[42]

Battiss's tracings provide good coverage of Panel A, including the large snake and surrounding figures, and the human 'frieze' along the bottom edge of the panel. During the previous year Van Riet Lowe had already traced several small groups from Panel A (retraced by Battiss): two fox-headed figures from a group below the great snake, and a dense cluster of figures from the far right end of the 'frieze', including a foreshortened bushbuck in rear-view and a distinctive therianthrope

[42] WB (RARI; unnumbered).



THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL BULLETIN

Vol. I
No. 3
July, 1946

Published by
THE SOUTH
AFRICAN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY
CAPE TOWN

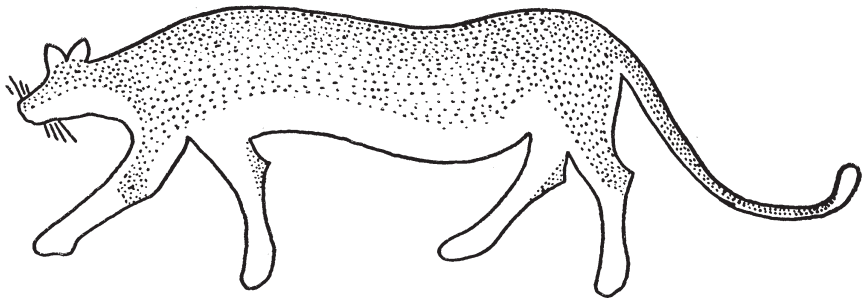


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Fig. 4.4.1. 1946 *THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL BULLETIN* COVER with two cats from Ebusingata. In the editorial, this design was introduced as follows: "...traced by Professor C. van Riet Lowe from the Ebusingata valley, in the Upper Tugela Location on the borders of the Natal National Park. The cave is one of five, and while certain material from this shelter has been published by Dr. Leo Frobenius under the title 'Cinyati, Natal', the two felines we here reproduce have not previously been printed. The springing feline is in yellow ochre and burnt umber, partly bordered in white. The more docile example is again yellow ochre and burnt umber, shaded from the spine to the belly, which is white. The colours are suggested by the stippling" (1946: 57).

holding an object on an upturned palm surrounded by maroon and white dots that he identified as bees (**Plate 4.4.6**, **4.4.18**). Van Riet Lowe's tracings also included detailed annotations about colour, including a descriptive code similar to the one used by Battiss, such as DR and lR (= dark red and light red), W (=white), Y.O. (= yellow ochre).

At times he matched these with the more coded and stable colour identities proposed in Maerz and Paul's *A dictionary of color* (1930), for example 11 J 7 (= burnt umber), 7 H 2 (= light maroon) and 4 I 9 (= light red). He often included annotations about the consecutive layers in which the paintings were painted, sometimes in a diagram such as:

Best Polychrome

——————————

Maroon

——————————

Y. Ochre

——————————

White

A CLASSIC ART GALLERY

Based on the experience of recording the site *in extenso* while witnessing it being dismantled, Van Riet Lowe wrote an undated paper entitled, "Ebusingata: A classic prehistoric art gallery" (c.1947), describing the panels in fair detail and suggesting an overarching chronological sequence.[43] He did not use the lettered panel configuration cited above to structure this text, but employed the same sequence using numbers (e.g. Panel A he refers to as the first panel, B the second and so on). This text may have been the subject of a lecture or presentation.[44] Nine figures that were created from "original tracings made in the cave before the task of removing the originals was undertaken" accompanied the original manuscript (c.1947: 3). These figures have been lost, or at any rate separated from the text. (The compiled redrawings in **Plates 4.4.8** to **4.4.12** with groups lettered A, B, C, D, E1, E2, F1 and F2 may also have been prepared for a publication or presentation, but the key to these letters has also been lost.) Van Riet Lowe explains his interest in Ebusingata as "[p]ossibly the finest example of a cave with paintings of various prehistoric or preliteral ages" (c.1947: 2) and believed that older paintings might still be visible on the older fallen blocks deeper down.[45] As Battiss writes, "[s]o clearly is the separation of the periods [at Ebusingata] that it was possible to walk both in space and time from the prehistoric to the historic" (1948: 73). Van Riet Lowe saw

[43] Document: RARI (SARADA : VRL-PAG-001). While it is undated, by its content it post-dates the removals. I suggest 1947 as a plausible date because Van Riet Lowe has not yet added the predicate "royal" to the Natal National Park, which came into common usage shortly following the royal visit in March 1947.

[44] Possibly presented at the (Royal) Natal National Park Hotel around the time of the removals. See letter from Edmonds to Van Riet Lowe, 11 May 1951. ASW (Vol. 73, B24/4).

[45] Van Riet Lowe quoted in an article in *The Star*, November 12, 1946, titled, "Preserving Bushman paintings". Ibid.

the six distinct and largely separate panels ranging from six to one hundred square feet in terms of a stylistically defined chronological sequence, and in his recording he may have concentrated on identifying these various ages rather than capturing the panels as canvas or spatial compositions. In other words, he might have documented the site in order to support and illustrate his hypothetical chronology and not with a view to piecing the site back together again in some other form that would visually approximate the whole original (as my project seeks to do). This once again points to the fact that an *in extenso* recording can mean very different things to different people depending on their interest. It might also explain some of the reasons for why the evidence I have found of his recording activities seems to me to be incomplete.

Van Riet Lowe was influenced in his early rock art researches by the Abbé Henri Breuil, a recognized authority on European cave art. Breuil's first visit to South Africa was also at the occasion of the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1929, and at that time Van Riet Lowe accompanied him to several rock painting sites in the eastern (Orange) Free State (Willcox 1962: 57). He was rightly wary of the regional applicability of the sequence of "phases" that the French expert put forward, and in the following years developed his own tentative time structures (e.g. Van Riet Lowe c.1947). Although the work he produced in the 1940s should not be considered as representative of his mature views (Willcox 1962: 61), it explains some aspects of the way he recorded the art. He classified some of Ebusingata's paintings in the "finest polychrome phase" with its strong eland motifs, representing for him the "acme of prehistoric art in South Africa"; he called this the "Period of the Eland":

> The prominence of and emphasis on eland during this [phase] not only at Ebusingata, but in many caves throughout the Drakensberg, suggests a cult in which this animal played an important, possibly a totemic part" (c.1947: 4).

Other polychrome animals, including impala, rhebuck, steenbuck and possibly felines, belonged to the tentatively earlier "Period of the Gazelle" (or Rhebuck). He furthermore saw evidence in the Ebusingata sequence for an artistic evolution that began with the earliest pictures, comprising single silhouettes in monochrome colours. Group scenes followed, first in single colours and then in bichromes, making way in time for the beautifully shaded polychrome periods. Van Riet Lowe proposed that this part of the sequence "represent[ed] the work of artists who lived in South Africa before the first Bantu-speaking tribes commenced their invasion of the Union some ten centuries ago" (c.1947: 5), a period he characterized as essentially restful and leisurely.

According to his scheme, a peaceful, artistically prosperous life was suddenly interrupted by "a terrifying wave of better armed men [that] appeared over the northern horizon [and] the nervous restlessness of [the Bushman's] new life is reflected in his later works." But, Van Riet Lowe writes, "[g]ood, even great artists lived on, [even though] the works of this Second (Post-Bantu) Period are markedly different from those of the [F]irst (Pre-Bantu) Period". Thus the "Second Period" comprises "true Bushman paintings that include men with assegais and cattle … objects which prove the modernity of the paintings" (c.1947: 6-7).

Battiss equally saw the rare but "conclusive proof" at Ebusingata for the determination of a regional rock art sequence. He defined a similar, if also somewhat vaguely defined, chronological structure in three overarching periods (1948: 97-98): the "Early" period of "Eland Art", comprising the "oldest eland underlying all the other paintings"; the "Middle Period", including "Eland Art" of shaded polychrome eland in foreshortened perspective and "Rhebuck Art" with similar shaded

polychrome rhebuck; and the "Last Period" of "true Bushman paintings that include cattle", comprising "humans and small animals in action". He saw monochrome animals under the earliest polychrome periods (1948: 71).

COMPLETING THE REMOVALS

The removals were still ongoing when Van Riet Lowe returned to Johannesburg in early January. Upon his return he promptly wrote to the stonemason in charge, a certain G. A. Smith, to thank him and encourage him in his task and to remind him to forward per passenger-train carriage three selected figures that Van Riet Lowe felt "should be housed in [his] museum instead of at the Park."[46] He was about to depart for Nairobi for the First Pan-African Congress on Prehistory so he insisted that Smith should not feel hurried to extract and send the specimens. The removals remained in his mind during his voyage to East Africa and immediately upon his return to Johannesburg in February he wrote somewhat anxiously to Smith again, not having received any news in the interim.[47] The reply came from Jackson that the removals were going well, that to date half the paintings had been removed, that the work should be completed by the end of February and that the museum would be ready on time for the royal visit.[48] He recommended that Van Riet Lowe make another journey to Natal National Park in early March to assess the work done, to advise Jackson on which paintings to display for the royal event and to assist with interpretive materials such as notices or plans. Van Riet Lowe made a trip in early March, but his stay was cut short by an urgent telegram that his mother had taken very seriously ill. He returned to Johannesburg disappointed and wrote to Smuts to apologize that overall he had been unable to achieve what he hoped.[49] Provisional displays would be set up on time for the royal visit by Jackson but they would not be accompanied by "explanatory notices"; moreover, he felt that the "best paintings [were] still in the cave." The technical challenges of the removals, including the decision or obligation to leave Panel A behind, the unexpectedly long duration of the removals and Van Riet Lowe's necessarily discontinuous and distant involvement, as well as a possible lack of focus or motivation on the part of Jackson and Smith, all appear to have been contributing factors.

While the bulk of the removed material—thirty-odd slabs[50]—was moved from the site to the Natal National Park Hotel buildings, where they were put on display inside the bowling pavilion, three single-figure specimens did eventually arrive in Johannesburg; their exact arrival date is unknown but they were accessioned in 1948.[51] Van Riet Lowe originally selected specimens "at and near the bottom right-hand corner of the main (extreme right) panel",[52] and in two photographs, several figures can be made out below this panel on natural subdivisions framed by breaks in the sandstone (**Plates 4.4.19**). Already fragmented into natural sections, these would have been easier to remove than the vast central flaking zone of this panel. There are now gaps that these blocks once occupied, but their current location is unknown. Conversely, one of the three stones which

[46] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smith, 4 January 1947. Ibid.

[47] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smith, 12 February 1947. Ibid.

[48] Letter from Jackson to Van Riet Lowe, 19 February 1947. Ibid.

[49] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smuts, 8 March 1947. Ibid.

[50] This may be the greatest quantity of rock painting material to be removed from a single site, except perhaps in cases where whole shelters have been dismantled (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012.)

[51] Archaeological Survey accessions card catalogue 78/48, ADW.

[52] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smith, 4 January 1947. Ibid.

made it to Johannesburg, the bichrome lion-like feline, came from Panel D. The second stone is another feline in a "springing" posture painted "in yellow ochre and burnt umber, partly bordered in white" (Van Riet Lowe 1946: 57; **Plate 4.4.20**), and the third is a gangly man depicted in red and white leaning forward and wielding a bow in his left hand. The original locations of these other two accessions cannot, on present evidence, be determined. I suspect that the second feline comes from an undocumented part of Panel B, as suggested in Van Riet Lowe's paper (c.1947: 4) and also because he traced the felines side by side on the same sheet of paper. However or wherever they were selected, they form strong individual motifs, isolated on smaller, more portable pieces by comparison with the unwieldy chunks of continuous, often superimposed paintings that were taken to the hotel. Back at the Archaeological Survey's museum in Johannesburg, the three pieces from Ebusingata were displayed behind glass in the end wall case (**Plate 4.4.21**). The contents of the museum were transferred into the university's care when the survey came to an end in 1962, and the painted rocks eventually ended up at the Rock Art Research Institute. The various documents that Van Riet Lowe had compiled were also scattered and reorganized when many of the survey's files were transferred to Pretoria while some remained behind at the university. Like the original broken site of painting, the *in extenso* archive became in its turn fractured and dispersed.

4.5

From Ebusingata to eBusingatha:

the post-removal archive

INTERPRETIVE MATERIAL

Following his rushed return to Johannesburg from the Natal National Park just prior to the royal visit in early March 1947, Van Riet Lowe declared himself available for consultation for the remainder of the process and hoped to continue to be involved in the displays from a distance and to add the finishing touches to the museum in person when next he got an opportunity to do so."[1] He was anxious about the British royals' experience at the Park and asked Edmund Schelpe to facilitate and to report back to him; Schelpe was a student in botany and had been appointed to put together the natural history component of the Park's displays for the royal visit.[2] According to Schelpe, despite the difficulties the Ebusingata exhibit proved to be "of great interest to the Royal Party; a host of questions were fired, most of which were answered, thanks to [Van Riet Lowe's] careful explanations, previously given at the Park."[3] Schelpe stayed on at Royal Natal for a while for his own research and agreed to assist with certain matters regarding the paintings. Van Riet Lowe took him up on this offer by organizing "two 100 ft. reels of colour film", encouraging that he would

> be doing [Van Riet Lowe]—and archaeology—a very good service if [he] would be so good as to build up a film showing
>
> (1) a good broad sweep of the berg with the amphitheatre, the sweep to commence somewhere near Dooley and to finish … at the Sleeping Beauty,
>
> (2) a good view of the Cannibal Cave and its surroundings (to be taken from a suitable spot beyond Surprise Gap),
>
> (3) a sweep of the Ebusingata valley including a distant view of the cave,
>
> (4) a near view of the cave and
>
> (5) a close-up of the paintings.[4]

[1] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smuts, 8 March 1947. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

[2] He later became an accomplished botanist (b.1924–d.1985).

[3] Letter from Schelpe to Van Riet Lowe, 30 March 1947. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4). These explanations may have derived from a lecture Van Riet Lowe gave at the Hotel during the time of the removals, and possibly from the unpublished manuscript titled, "Ebusingata: A classic prehistoric art gallery" (Van Riet Lowe c.1947).

[4] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Schelpe, 14 March 1947. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

Such a moving-image archive would of course have been invaluable in terms of capturing the state of the shelter and its surroundings immediately following the removals but unfortunately by the time the ciné film was obtained, Schelpe had left the Park.[5] It is not clear what Van Riet Lowe's subsequent involvement in the museum's management was but at some stage interpretive texts were printed on cards and placed inside the glass cases. He intended for a notice to be erected at the cave itself,[6] but I have found no indication that this was ever realized.

Frank S. Pardoe, a Natal Parks Board employee in charge of the small museum, began to raise concerns in the early 1950s around the absence of "souvenir" material for guests, and offered to produce a booklet on the "history, flora and fauna and the attractions". He also prepared texts titled, "The Bushmen of the Drakensberg" and "Interpretations", and wished these to be typed up so that visitors could read them while viewing the displays. Later he requested that copies of these texts be made available for sale to interested visitors.[7] The question of authorship of these texts is not clear: Hollmann and Msimanga attribute "Interpretations" to Van Riet Lowe, and Pardoe may have obtained the information from him or copied an earlier document.[8]

The document comprises a numbered list of Ebusingata's painted stones with brief descriptions of each, thus it gives an indication of which rocks were present at the Natal National Park 'museum' and the manner in which they were displayed (**Annex IV**). The numbers correspond with blue-grey characters that were written directly onto the painted faces of the rocks with a crayon-like medium, many of which are still discernible on the stones today (**Annex V**). The numbers may also indicate the order in which the pieces were displayed. Of the thirty-three stones, nineteen were displayed "behind glass" (numbered 1 to 14), seven on the floor to the left of the display cases (15 to 18) and seven on the floor to the right of them (19 to 23).[9] Display rock number four, depicting a "hunting scene" with a "herd of pink and red buck … driven to where the Bushmen lay in ambush", and including details of bows and quivers and some arrows in flight, was traced by Walter Battiss (possibly only after this panel, which I deduce to be Van Riet Lowe's Panel "F" and the sixth panel described by Schulz as a "barricaded stone", had been removed because *in situ* the surface was difficult to get to, as I explain in chapter 4.6). But intriguingly, it is currently missing (**Plates 4.5.1**, **4.5.2**). It was an attractive piece and never made it to the Natal Museum when all the other removed rocks were relocated there a few years later. It may therefore be the stone whose theft is referred to in a letter from the Secretary of the Natal Parks Board to the Natal Provincial Secretary in 1951 (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 302).

OFF-SITE NEGLECT AND REHABILITATION

The paintings settled into their new institutionalized life in the display cases of the Royal Natal National Park's small museum where they seem to have been in good hands for several years,

[5] Telegram from Van Riet Lowe to Schelpe c/o Mont-aux-Sources, 16 August 1947, and reply telegram from Mont-aux-Sources to Van Riet Lowe, 18 August 1947. Ibid.

[6] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smith, 4 January 1947. Ibid.

[7] Letter from Pope-Ellis to the Secretary to the [Parks] Board, 29 October 1952; letter from Pardoe to Vincent, 10 November 1952; letter from Stanton to Pardoe, 1 April 1954. EKZNW (Folder A/1).

[8] One version is in Pardoe's handwriting and the other is typed. EKZNW (Folder A/18).

[9] In several cases, separate pieces were fitted together for the display and given one number. In addition to the blue numbers (and apart from the Natal Museum accession numbers that are also written on the rocks), green numbers (1 to 3) are visible on some of them. These look old and could have been field markings, but I have not been able to decode their meaning.

reportedly until Pardoe left for England in April 1951 (although he seems to have returned some time later to continue to work at the Park). The story of the rocks' plight had clearly touched visitors to the Park and soon after Pardoe's departure, C. W. Edmonds, a resident of Durban, wrote to Van Riet Lowe of the neglect and mistreatment of the displayed specimens he had witnessed:

> What I saw in connection with the paintings was rather distressing. One of the glass windows was missing, others were open, the printed cards were in disorder and dust was everywhere. Of the blocks of stone underneath someone had marked some of the paintings. Garden tools were heaped up next to the blocks and in some cases touching the paintings. This I thought was a sad state of affairs after all the trouble you took to preserve this ancient work of art.[10]

There followed a number of unsettled years for the painted rocks as the matter of the manner in which they were being treated was debated by correspondence between Van Riet Lowe and Berry Malan (who took over administrative duties after Van Riet Lowe's death in 1956) of the Archaeological Survey, the Natal Provincial Secretary and the Natal Parks Game and Fish Preservation Board. Between allegation and denial, the details of what exactly the paintings endured during this time are unknown (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 301-4). Following the first report of neglect, Van Riet Lowe recommended that, should the "valuable relics" not be properly cared for at the Park, they be entrusted to the Natal Museum,[11] but the exact context in which they were eventually moved into this institution's storage facilities in "about 1964" is also uncertain. Sadly, over the following thirty years, their treatment in the Natal Museum also left much to be desired (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 305-7).

As a result of a recent collaboration between rock art archaeologist Jeremy Hollmann of the KwaZulu-Natal Museum and independent filmmaker Lawrence Msimanga (with family ties to the Busingatha Valley), the conditions in which the rocks are kept have been vastly improved. Still housed in closed stores within this institution because, for reasons of space, it is not possible for them all to be displayed in the public galleries, they have been cleaned and contained in custom-made archival-quality boxes. Fulfilling the role of 'public face' for this rock shelter is a display of the 'Elephant Man' panel, which has been a permanent feature of the museum's exhibits since 1991. The display was renovated in 2007/8, completing another "important stage in the 'rehabilitation' of the uMwhabane rocks" (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 312; **Plate 4.5.3**).

The 'Elephant Man' can also be found in the rock art displays at the Origins Centre in Johannesburg, where an adapted version of Pager's redrawing appears on a lightbox titled "altered states" that illustrates several of the hallucinogenic effects of trance (**Plate 4.5.4**). Thus, as with Sehonghong's rainmaking group, it is possible to trace a genealogy that reveals how this single figure, an iconic but highly selective fragment of a larger whole, was framed and perpetuated in isolation, standing in for and almost obscuring an entire cave with elaborate murals of painted imagery. The case of the 'Elephant Man' further illustrates the phenomenon whereby copies are produced from copies of fragments of removed rock paintings. While I do not develop the 'Elephant Man' genealogy in as much detail here as I did for the Sehonghong rainmaking group, **Cat. V** provides a sense of the figure's pictorial trajectory. In addition to the formally published appearances of the 'Elephant Man', I include the KwaZulu-Natal Museum and Origins Centre displays in this trajectory, because they are in a sense extensions or additional locations of the rock-shelter that are now frequently viewed by museumgoers.

[10] Letter from Edmonds to Van Riet Lowe, 11 May 1951. ASW (Vol. 73 B24-4).

[11] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to the Provincial Secretary, 23 May 1951. Ibid.

Fig. 4.5.1. H. PAGER'S REDRAWING OF THE 'ELEPHANT MAN' with its original caption (Pager 1975: 75).

Stripped of most of its paintings in 1947, the shelter entered into a dormant phase as far as rock art interest was concerned. The site was visited during the late 1940s and 1950s in combination with trips to the Royal Natal National Park museum. There were still some paintings to see at the site itself, most notably the tangibly deteriorating imagery of Panel A (**Plate 4.5.5**). Once referred to by Van Riet Lowe as the "best" this site had to offer[12] these images had continued to flake off in large chunks because of the friability of this particular panel's surface. Large chunks of rock lay about the shelter, some visibly scarred by chisel marks, and no doubt the shelter also held a new fascination as a kind of ruin. Visitors in these years included Alex Willcox, who produced the first colour photographs of Ebusingata, both the rock-shelter and the Royal Natal National Park's museum display, in the early 1950s (**Plate 4.5.5**, **4.5.6**). Van Riet Lowe's daughter Anna also returned to the site several times with friends (Fradan pers. comm. 2011). Harald Pager may also have paid a visit, citing Cinyati in his summary of *Madsimu Dsangara* as an example of the "many cases where sightseers have defaced the paintings especially at easily accessible sites", where "in order to protect the paintings from being damaged many were removed and are now on view at the museum of the Royal Natal National Park" (1962: 44). Pager later traced and redrew the 'Elephant Man', probably once the paintings had been moved to the Natal Museum (1975: 75, **Fig. 4.5.1**).

In the 1970s, Ebusingata became the focus of a new interest in bees and honey harvesting depicted in rock art (e.g. Guy 1972; Pager 1973, 1975: 74-77, 1976). Robin Guy published one of the Frobenius copies, suggesting that the oval shape in the top of the composition was a cavity containing a beehive (Kat. Nr. 651 in **Plate 4.3.14**). Mannsfeld, the creator of this copy, simply called it an "oval" in her field notes, although her copy also shows a 'swarm' of red dots with smaller white dots to either side that evoke bees. And although in her notes Schulz (1929: 12) described them purely graphically ("white somewhat oval dots with red stripes across the middle"), she also did not advance a verbal interpretation of them as bees. In the 1980s, Bert Woodhouse visited the cave with his wife Shirley, who identified another figure surrounded by bees, that of a"[m]an apparently bleeding from the nose … carrying a pile of honeycomb held on the flat of his upturned hand in the manner of a waiter carrying a tray" (1987: 41, **Fig. 4.5.2**). Woodhouse credits the "first step in the study of bees and honey as reflected in the rock art of southern Africa" to Leo Frobenius, "when one of his artists copied paintings at the site that he called Cinyati". The other known honey-related Frobenius picture is the 'Elephant Man' by Weyersberg (**Plate 4.3.17**), in which case it is also uncertain, although possible, that they thought or knew the dots surrounding this figure were bees. But in the painted field version of this therianthrope, the 'bees' look only vaguely like bees, represented by red and light-red splodges (the bees' bodies), often flanked by white ones (the bees' wings), but in the monochrome diagram of the 'Elephant Man', these vaguely bee-like splodges are reduced to simpler not very bee-like circles (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 163; Frobenius 1931a: 296; **Fig. 4.6.3**).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Businga tha Valley became a focus of the activities of the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation (initially established as the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources by Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1982). As the apartheid government's African counterpart to the Natal Parks Board, the Department was responsible for the protection of natural resources in the black locations. In the 1990s the KwaZulu Department established a permanent nature conservation presence in the valley; a nature conservation officer lived in a house on the road

[12] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smuts, 8 March 1947. Ibid.

to the Royal Natal National Park, at the entrance to the Busingatha Valley (next to the present-day Thandanani Mazizi Craft Centre; Len van Schalkwyk pers. comm. 2011). In an attempt to incorporate rock art within the managerial realm of nature conservation, activities were organized around eBusingatha because it was the most accessible site in the valley, and because of its history of conservation challenges. It exemplified a kind of worst-case scenario. In August 1992, archaeologists Aron Mazel and Len Van Schalkwyk held a rock art training session in the cave for Conservation Scouts, employed by the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation (**Plate 4.5.7**, **4.5.8**). In the mid-1990s, a group of Conservation Cadets, who were trainee nature conservation students based at the Natal Parks Board, photographically recorded eBusingatha as well as several other rock art sites in the Busingatha Valley (**Plate 4.5.7**). The rock shelter with its last remaining paintings continued to be plagued by graffiti and in 1995 Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali (the provincial heritage authority) appointed archaeologist Janette Deacon to carry out a graffiti-removal workshop (**Plate 4.5.9**).

What is significant about images captured at these various moments is that they show aspects of the shelter in a configuration much closer to the state in which it was left following the 1947 removals. A major rock fall, ostensibly from natural causes, occurred in the late 1990s (Hollmann & Msimanga 2008: 285); large sections of the ceiling and back wall subsided, creating the substantially altered, more collapsed configuration of the shelter as it lies today. This event caused the second most significant physical modification the shelter has experienced in recorded history, further compounding a situation where it is almost unrecognizable in comparison to the Frobenius photographs from 1929 (**Plate 4.5.10**, **4.5.11**).

Fig. 4.5.2. REDRAWING OF THE "HONEY WAITER" (Woodhouse 1987: 41).

4.6

eBusingatha:

restoration

ARCHIVAL RECOVERY

The previous archival chapters on eBusingatha describe how, while the physical shelter deteriorated, a rich, mostly unpublished, record of information accumulated elsewhere, beginning in the early 1920s. The site's demise can be tracked through archives on two continents and these subsidiary sources have in turn been partially scattered and lost. In a sense the site has been 'exploded' into an archive, where various materials have been carried away from the site, numbered, reorganized, and in some cases lost. The boundary between archaeological and historical processes is blurred, because *in situ* deterioration fades into *ex situ* deposition of layers of documents, images and artefacts in museums and document repositories. In other words, the archival deposit—rock, paper, picture—is an extension of the cave's archaeology. This chapter reunites the cave with its off-site presence and enables a partial restoration. A number of panels can be pieced back together, while several cannot. I discuss the process of reconstruction, panel by panel, and consider the implications of this reconstruction for the site as a whole.

eBusingatha presents a four-dimensional puzzle: a point in the landscape, the pictorial planes of its painted imagery, its spatiality as a rock shelter and its changes through time. To put the site back together from here on I adopt a narrative that is not purely chronological. I refer to relationships between copies, documents, the removed paintings and the site that I have established through my research. These connections are for the most part not explicit within the individual archival sources but have grown out of my attempts to create meaningful relationships between materials that have come to be isolated from other materials and from their site of origin. It is a process of taking disjointed parts and returning them to a more seamless whole.

The chapter's point of departure is the frontal sketch produced by Van Riet Lowe in 1946, as this has been the singularly most useful key for the site's restoration. He lettered the panels A to F, beginning with the biggest panel on the right-hand side and moving towards the left (**Plate 4.4.13**). His panel structure engages well with the Frobenius recording and I use it to structure this chapter. My piecing together of the painted rocks builds also on the preliminary work of Val Ward, who in her position as collections technician at the Natal Museum, re-accessioned the Ebusingata stones in the 1990s and established a fit between a number of them.

Of all eBusingatha’s painted surfaces, Panel A has inspired the greatest number of manual copies and photographs. It has dominated through both size and subject matter. As a result it is singularly the most thoroughly recorded panel, and, somewhat ironically, it is also the only obvious painted surface still on view at the shelter. Its giant serpent has fascinated or terrified just about every visitor to this site and today the snake is highly fragmented yet still discernible, and it too dominates more through its length and reptilian theme than through colour or clarity, for its painted tones blend like camouflage into the pale sandstone surface. Its head and tail have both largely vanished, although some details of intricate patterning are still visible along the length of its body, painted in a smooth gradient from its yellowish-white belly up to a pinkish-brown back (Schulz described it as blackish-brownish, 1929: 9). The upper (dorsal) contour is defined by a double row of dots in white, and lines zigzag down over the body like shimmering scales. The snake is surrounded by a ‘herd’ of grazing eland, and many other colourful and detailed, predominantly animal, figures. Humans dominate the bottom strip of the panel, where a dense procession of highly varied men, women and a series of ‘giants’, can still be made out.

The panel has a distinctive horizontality created by the parallel lines of the snake, the successive rows of human figures and the streaks of natural flaking. It might have been the latter that inspired the original painters to orientate many of the elements in this mural horizontally. Hollmann and Msimanga (2008: 300) describe a story, still told by some of the guides today, of how the panel was damaged in this striated fashion by the flying “shrapnel” from the alleged blasting that took place here during the 1947 removals. The 1929 recording shows, however, that the streaks existed prior to the removals; they are the result of exfoliation or spalling along the horizontal bedding lines in the sandstone, although they are likely to have been exacerbated by any vibrations in close proximity, by people touching or throwing things at the rock, or the alternating heating and cooling of the rock (in day and seasonal cycles for example). Schulz wrote that two years before their visit, dried grass stored up inside the shelter had caught alight (1929: 7) and the ailing mural may well have been affected by such a close and extreme source of heat. Van Riet Lowe attributed the kind of damage visible on this panel to the effect of wind scouring the “ordinary, unsilicified and therefore unmetamorphosed sandstone”, describing how “many of the pre-Bantu painted surfaces” at Ebusingata were “literally in bas relief, the adjacent unpainted rock having been worn away by cutting winds which have literally ‘eaten into’ the unprotected areas” (1949: 32). Panel A almost has the appearance of a plastered and painted fresco, where the paintings sit on a thin, harder and more brittle (weathered) outer layer, oddly perpendicular to the horizontal layers of the bedding structure.

Early photographs of Panel A include one taken by Agnes Schulz of the Frobenius expedition in 1929, several partial views, some probably taken by Van Riet Lowe in 1946, in black and white, and early colour photographs by Alex Willcox in the 1950s (**Plate 4.6.1**). It has continued to be photographed *in situ* by many subsequent visitors, including Bert Woodhouse, Janette Deacon, Aron Mazel, John Hone and Jeremy Hollmann. One of the reasons it stayed behind was probably that it was the only panel to be ‘built-in’ to the back wall of the shelter, whereas the other panels were situated on detached blocks. Another reason must have been its frail constitution; it was already affected by severe flaking when it was first recorded in the early 1920s and its fragility remains tangible (**Plate 4.6.2**). A sequence of photographs presented in an earlier chapter shows how the painted surface has steadily flaked away over the last eighty years (**Plate 4.4.4**). Despite the

"ruinous" condition of Panel A, Van Riet Lowe nonetheless considered its remains to be "unusually interesting and impressive" (c.1947: 3). Despite the fact that it is has continued to disintegrate, it is still an impressive mural today. Although a large area has been completely obliterated, many suggestive fragments remain, some only barely clinging on to the rock. The fascination it holds is surely also ascribable to the romantic aesthetic of ruins.

Panel A, as a physical matrix, need not be pieced together; its various copies can simply be grafted back onto it to replace some of what has flaked away. These include two prints by Wylde-Browne (early 1920s), two large-format Frobenius painted copies (produced in 1929), and a mosaic of tracings by Walter Battiss and Clarence Van Riet Lowe (produced in 1945-6), each of which has been discussed in earlier chapters. The various copyists found different creative solutions to capture aspects of its layered, colourful and panoramic vastness.

Wylde-Browne was the first to produce copies of this panel (**Plate 4.6.3a**). In the archival section on Cingati (4.1), I outline his special interest in rock art photography and the copy-negative technique for producing enhanced prints. He preferred modified versions in which the outlines of the rock-painted figures are unmistakable, channelling the viewer's attention to the figures he wished to show off. To this end he spent "days making an enlarged print, blotting out the other stuff, strengthening the main figures of interest and finally producing something with a motif in it."[1] He realized that photographs of rock paintings can be confusing, because it is not always possible to differentiate between what is painted and what is natural, or between what are perceived as the more 'important' figures and the ones that 'interfere' with these. Photography tends to produce optical illusions: visual artefacts of the natural rock that look like painted fragments.

Wylde-Browne created and manipulated his copy negatives at his studio, and, without having the actual paintings in front of him, mistakes were easily made; he occasionally fell into the very trap of which he was so wary. I have found one unretouched photograph by him of a detail of eland from Panel A, but he felt the larger, copy-negative version that included the snake was the more presentable picture. Within this print, he emphasized the larger and bulkier figures, while leaving many of the smaller and thinner ones out of his copy. Further, he misinterpreted an elliptical inclusion in the rock as the serpent's head, missing the fact that its body continues beyond this natural feature to terminate in an exfoliated area where the animal's actual extremity, whether head or tail, had already flaked away. In 1929, Schulz saw the elongated snout on the right (**Plate 4.6.4**), but this area has also deteriorated since she produced her copy. Battiss also placed the head at the right end of the snake, but one wonders if he was influenced by the Frobenius copy. It nonetheless appears as though Schulz's interpretation of the head is likely to have been correct. It may be possible to resolve this issue through more specialized digital enhancement.

The Frobenius artists' strategy for the documentation of this panel was to divide it up into two zones, naturally separated by a horizontal streak of exfoliation where the painting had entirely disintegrated. Separated in this manner, the two zones appear thematically distinct from one another (**Plates 4.6.3b**). Mannsfeld and Weyersberg jointly produced a watercolour over 3m long capturing a frieze-like procession of human, animal and therianthrope figures along the bottom edge of the panel (**Plate 4.3.7**). Schulz produced a copy in watercolour pencil on grey paper of the upper zone on the left side around the snake (**Plate 4.3.8**). In the upper zone, although the humans (including those with animal heads) by far outnumber the animals (which also include eland as well as other antelope), the latter dominate in terms of their size and surface area. There is some

[1] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 27 March 1947. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

superposition, but the overall impression is a more sparsely populated and spacious fabric than the lower frieze-like zone, which is so densely painted in places that the natural rock surface appears completely covered over in the manner of a canvas painting. The dominant movement is towards the right, but a number of figures face towards the left. Several figures look like giants if they are considered in a proportionate scale to the others, and, overall, humans dominate over a minority of eland appearing to lie in the layer beneath them.

Another striking difference between the two copies is their distinctly different colour themes. It is, however, difficult to know how much of this difference is ascribable to unknown factors such as the ageing of paper and paint, and also the uncalibrated nature of the digital versions that were generated in different ways. The "alpha" version of the snake composition has not yet been located in the stores of the Frobenius Institute so the digital image considered here is a photograph of the published plate from *Madsimu Dsangara* (Frobenius 1931a: Tafel 127). The "alpha" version of the frieze is one of the oversize formats that have not yet been scanned and the digital image dealt with here is a SARADA scan of the "beta" version (Iziko South African Museum). The Frobenius artists used paper in off-white colours (in some cases cream-coloured, beige, light brown or grey) probably to begin with a base that already emulated the natural colour of the rock. Schulz's painting is chromatically colder, the grey hue of the paper influencing the brown, black, white, red and orange pigments applied to it, cooling and dimming them. It is possible that the cold greyness was warmer in the lost original, as many of the other copies of this series appear to be in earth tones on paper of a warmer grey hue, but even if it were, I suspect that the overall effect would still have been colder and less colourful than the frieze. On cream-coloured paper, this latter copy is warm and creates more contrast, in red, orange and yellow hues with touches of blue creating a golden-greenish tinge in places. When considering the two copies in isolation, based on their different colour themes, figurative contents and compositions, one would not guess that they depict closely adjacent parts of the same panel.

Superimposed onto the panel, the two Frobenius copies almost touch, leaving a small uncopied gap between them that corresponds with a natural gap in the painting. They clearly intended to capture as much of the painted surface as possible and together the two copies cover the greater painted portion of Panel A (about 3.5m2 of a total of 4m2). The Frobenius artists possessed the skills and tirelessness required to copy such vast murals, as several very large-format copies produced at other sites demonstrate, one of which is over ten metres in length (Skotnes & Keene 2010: 7). Although not nearly as large as this, the two Cinyati copies under discussion already push the boundaries of what it is easily possible to digitize. The edges of their larger works would have been determined more by time and material constraints. To portray all of the painted imagery on this particular panel within one rectangular sheet of paper would have meant creating a copy containing large unpainted zones, so there was perhaps a paper-saving dimension to their strategy. Although the copies do not cover all the painted imagery on this panel, the Frobenius artists recorded virtually all the figures that fell within their selected zones, including figures cropped by the edges of the paper. One of their primary concerns was clearly to capture the painted imagery as a continuous pictorial field.

The remaining *in situ* fragments of this panel seem consistent with the impression of two stylistically and chromatically distinct zones, but because of the missing pieces, we do not know how the upper style transitioned into the lower one—it could have merged gradually or presented an abrupt change.

The mosaic of tracings in the mid-1940s (introduced in the archival chapter on Ebusingata, 4.4) demonstrate quite a different way of grappling with this pictorial problem. Several selective tracings from various parts of the panel were created by Van Riet Lowe himself and his daughter Anne in 1945 (**Plate 4.6.3c**). From the far left end of Panel A, Anne traced a triad of human figures in a variety of postures, one sitting, one standing with crossed legs and one appearing almost to float through the air with limp limbs. Van Riet Lowe himself copied two individuals from a row of "fox-headed" figures from the centre of the panel, and an antelope with antelope fragments falling outside the central zone of Panel A along the bottom. He also copied a cluster of figures including an antelope, possibly a bushbuck, in rear perspective and a distinctive therianthrope wearing a headband and holding an object on an upturned palm from the far right-hand edge of the painting. He depicted the bees as maroon dots with white 'wings' surrounding this figure, and noted that they were similar to those surrounding the Elephant Man, located elsewhere in the same cave. His interest at this time was in certain isolated motifs and the 1945 tracings do not reflect the panel as a whole.

Shortly after the decision to remove the paintings had been taken towards the end of the following year, Van Riet Lowe requested Battiss's assistance in creating an *in extenso* recording of the whole cave. They did not then know that Panel A would remain behind in the cave.[2] Under Van Riet Lowe's patronage, Walter Battiss produced a more comprehensive set of tracings, rectangular pieces of polythene covering the panel like 'tiles', whose position in relation to one another he indicated with symbols across the joins so that they might be pieced together at a later stage (**Plate 4.6.3d**). He outlined the paintings in black ink with notations about their colour with a view to transferring the images into full-colour versions on paper at a later stage. I have not found any painted versions that were created from his Ebusingata tracings, but it is nonetheless possible to imagine what his intentions may have been from looking at some of his other work (e.g. Schoonraad 1985: pl. 5; **Plate 4.6.5**).

Battiss's technique was in several respects similar to that of Patricia Vinnicombe, who conceived of her tracings as transitory mnemonic devices enabling the creation of more permanent and veristic versions at a later stage. Both Battiss and Vinnicombe traced using materials adapted to the field and not necessarily for archival longevity, but there wasn't always time to derive more presentable or durable versions from them. They both used a custom-made code for colour (although Vinnicombe's was in the end much more elaborate) and their practice of translating tracings into secondary copies in the studio away from the original parietal artworks introduced an additional level of remove. Their repaintings are generally considered less "accurate" than the products of tracing techniques used by rock art researchers currently, but by comparison they capture more colour, texture and 'painterliness' than traced monochrome diagrams are able to do.

For the most part, Battiss's tracings cover the same general area as the Frobenius copies. Two of the 1940s tracings reflect small clusters of painted figures located below the main portion of Panel A. Separated from the central zone of the panel by natural breaks in the rock, these outlying figures were not copied by the Frobenius artists. Like them, Battiss was careful not to fill in the missing parts of the fragmentary figures, even where one could venture a good guess as to what had once been there. Instead of breaking the panel up into smaller compositions, he attempted to trace it in its continuous entirety, and included relatively large zones with no painted imagery. Although Battiss's tracings do not cover the whole of Panel A's painted surface, especially the lateral edges, I

[2] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smuts, 8 March 1947. ASW (Vol. 73, B24/4).

suspect the set once covered the panel more comprehensively (as explained in the earlier archival chapter on Ebusingata).

I have been able to match closely the information contained in the copies with the remnants on the rock wall, evoking something of what it must have looked like in the past (**Plate 4.6.7**). This visual synthesis draws from the abilities and limitations of the copies and contextualizes them, but of course there are still gaps and many questions.

PANEL "B"

The second panel documented by the Frobenius draughtswomen was an irregular slice of rock lying up against but detached from the back wall of the shelter below Panel A to the left (looking in; **Plate 4.6.8**). Van Riet Lowe designated this block Panel B.

The only image of the panel that likely pre-dates the Frobenius recording is one of the rare unretouched photographs of rock paintings by Wylde-Browne depicting a feline he described as a "leopard outlined in white, walking" (**Plate 4.1.4**).[3] The same feline appears in one of five Frobenius copies that were created from this panel. During the 1947 removals Panel B was broken up and ended up as nine chunks in the stores of the KwaZulu-Natal Museum. Some portions on the left and right sides were discarded and only the base remained behind, still visible with faded fragments of paint on its front surface and chisel marks along its top edge (**Plate 4.6.9**).

Although the Frobenius photograph captured Panel "B" at an angle, it is the most complete single picture on record. The quality of the photographic image was such that I could stretch it to obtain a roughly frontal view that could be used as a base image for the restoration (**Plate 4.6.10**). In combination with Schulz's detailed notes, I was able to piece the greater part of this block back together and situate the various copies in relation to it.

A more patchy but evocative image is created by a collage of various photographs from the mid-1940s. Painted figures can be seen articulated across an irregular and tilted surface, curving over into a natural overhang towards the top of the block on the left side (**Plate 4.6.11**).

The strategy of the Frobenius artists was similar to that employed with Panel A: the deployment of a series of contiguous rectangular formats, overlapping slightly in places (**Plate 4.6.10b**). In this way they were able to capture the majority of the figures across this complex block. Each copy looks to some extent like a section cut out of a continuous fabric because it includes figures cropped by the edges of the paper, and several copies have no central focal point. But although each points to some extent to the continuity beyond the limits of the orthogonal field, the copies' wider context is not visible without the contextualization provided by the restoration.

As described in the Cinyati chapter, only Mannsfeld's version of the row of marching figures truly embodies the creation of a composition internally altered to fit the rectangular format. She omitted several figures within the zone covered by her copy, for example a cream-coloured antelope-like animal with short front legs and four pointed protrusions coming out of the back of its head, originally positioned below the middle of the group of human figures. The artists' own subjective perceptions of the importance or coherence of certain groups or figures above others were a determining factor in several other compositions, examples of the ubiquitous tendency for certain groups to be selected and framed according to preconceived themes, imagined narratives

[3] Letter from Wylde-Browne to Van Riet Lowe, 27 March 1947. ASW (Vol.73 B24/4).

or perceived compositions. In the work of the Frobenius expedition, this tendency is most visible in smaller-format copies, while the large-format copies challenge the notion that the imagery can be resampled in this way.

Van Riet Lowe produced four tracings of Panel B in 1945 (**Plate 4.6.10c**). One captures a dancing figure with a long mask accompanied by clapping figures and surrounded by blobs. He retraced this group the next day so that the blobs were not cut off on the left side. Another tracing shows a group of human figures with arms outstretched and pronounced buttocks and tummy (women?), some in pairs facing one another. Both these compositions followed compositional structures set up previously in *Madsimu Dsangara* (Frobenius 1931a: Tafeln 104 and 107; **Plate 4.6.12**).

A fourth tracing includes a group with eland and smaller antelope and two individual feline figures copied from different parts of the panel (one feline comes from this panel, Wylde-Browne's leopard discussed above; the other may not). If Battiss traced Panel B, as I suspect he did, as part of his and Van Riet Lowe's *in extenso* recording, I have not found any of his tracings or derived pictures.

Panel B's odd shape was broken down into nine roughly rectangular chunks. These can be neatly pieced together, with some narrow losses in between. The portion of the block that curved up into a natural overhang at the left end was discarded. One of the Frobenius copies portrays a group of human figures clustered around the base of a ladder motif that leads up to an elliptical form. From the bee motifs that surround it and ethnographic parallels with honey-harvesting using ladders, it can be interpreted as a beehive (Guy 1972: 162; **Plate 4.6.13**). Sadly, the upper part of the copied scene (including the beehive) did not survive the removals, hiding the fact that the circular nest was in its original form painted on the underside of a natural overhang in the rock, mimicking the location of a natural beehive. A digitally restored version of this block can evoke something of this use of the scenic features of the rock (**Plate 4.6.14**).

PANEL "C"

Van Riet Lowe recorded a third panel, "on the underside of a large block which fell from the face of the rock on which the second panel [B] was later painted" (c.1947: 5). Schulz wrote that certain figures at Cinyati were "very difficult to see because of the large stones stacked one on top of the other" (Schulz 1929: 7) and these may have been the paintings to which she referred. Van Riet Lowe described the paintings there as including "an eland in ivory white, six human figures in brick red and the small brick red and white bichrome shown in [his] Fig. 7" (c.1947: 5). I have not found any tracings of the inaccessible Panel C but he made a sketch of several of its figures alongside a cross-section drawing of the rock shelter dated 20 December 1946: four running human figures in brick red and a small brick red and white bichrome antelope (**Fig. 4.6.1**).

Van Riet Lowe represented Panel C as a horizontal slab arching over a lens-shaped hollow leaving only a small opening, and described it as a "fallen block in front of 'B' with paintings on 'roof' of cavity". In Schulz's 1929 photograph the profile of its narrow lateral edge is visible, but even then, access to this panel was already difficult and its paintings are absent from the Frobenius recording (**Plate 4.6.15**). Based on the painting style and the position of the block in relation to the other panels, Van Riet Lowe proposed that Panel C's paintings were among the oldest at Ebusingata, representing "the work of artists who lived in South Africa before the first Bantu-speaking tribes commenced their invasion … some ten centuries ago" (c.1947: 5).

During my fieldwork I discovered that Panel C was still present at the shelter, although completely barricaded in and even more difficult to access because other rocks have since fallen on top and around it. I had to reach my arm into the gaps between the jumble of rocks to take photographs into the darkness (**Plate 4.6.16**). The angle was awkward for photography and the panel's painted surface is flaking away. The only figure that can be matched with Van Riet Lowe's sketch with any certainty is the bichrome antelope (**Plate 4.6.17**). Despite the fact that Panel C was a detached and relatively small block, it was left behind. The removers may not have realized that it had painted imagery on its underside, or they didn't consider it worth the effort. It is not possible to restore Panel C because it is so damaged and because it was never adequately copied, but it has to some extent been brought back into the visible realm.

PANEL "D"

Higher up and further over to the left from panels B and C, a prominent block was once positioned jutting-out horizontally and presenting painted figures on its roughly rectangular frontal face. Van Riet Lowe described the imagery on this fourth slab as "pure Post-Bantu" and labelled it Panel D. In the Cinyati section (4.3) I show how, from a photograph that catches the panel at an acute angle, it is possible to visualize it in frontal perspective (**Plate 4.6.18**). Weyersberg copied the layered group of eland and cow from the far right end of the panel (facing left) and the solitary feline from the far left (facing right), but did not copy several more fragmentary animal figures in between (**Plate 4.6.18a**). In 1945, in all likelihood following the Frobenius artists' lead but also because these figures were the clearest and most complete figures on the panel, Van Riet Lowe and his daughter copied the eland and cow group across three overlapping tracings. The following year, Van Riet Lowe traced the lion (**Plate 4.6.18b**).

Van Riet Lowe noted that the cow was depicted in white and the eland in other, colourful combinations of pigment: the middle one in Indian red, the uppermost one in burnt sienna, yellow ochre, faded black and dirty white, and the leftmost one in yellow ochre, faded black and pale yellow. The lion-like feline he recorded in shaded burnt sienna and buff.

Two incomplete eland from the middle of the panel, one in yellow ochre and pale yellow and another in red-brown and white, were not recorded by anyone but these figures can be identified on the stones at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum. A total of four pieces can be reassembled to reunite the six bovids in the left half of the panel. The lion cannot, however, be located in this collection. Pager noted that this panel was "badly broken and the lower part of the elands as well as the lion were lost" (1962: 45). Others knew the lion from the Frobenius copy only and so suspected him to be a product of the artist's imagination, evidence of the "artistic licence" that early copyists are easily suspected of.[4] The unpublished Frobenius photograph, however, dispels any doubt about its existence. A clue about what became of the lion after the removals can be found in a note written by Van Riet Lowe in 1951. A letter addressed to the Archaeological Survey enclosed a slightly out-of-focus but unmistakable photograph of the cat *in situ* taken by a certain Mr. Harvey. The author of the letter described it as a "rock engraving" from a "cave somewhere in the north eastern Transvaal beyond Louis Trichardt" (**Plate 4.6.19**).[5] Next to this, Van Riet Lowe wrote:

[4] Note from Val Ward to Thomas Dowson (undated but in reply to Dowson's letter to Aron Mazel, 7 November 1990). VRL (RARI unnumbered).

[5] Letter from Kupferburger to Van Riet Lowe, 2 July 1951. RARI (SARADA : VRL-LST-003).

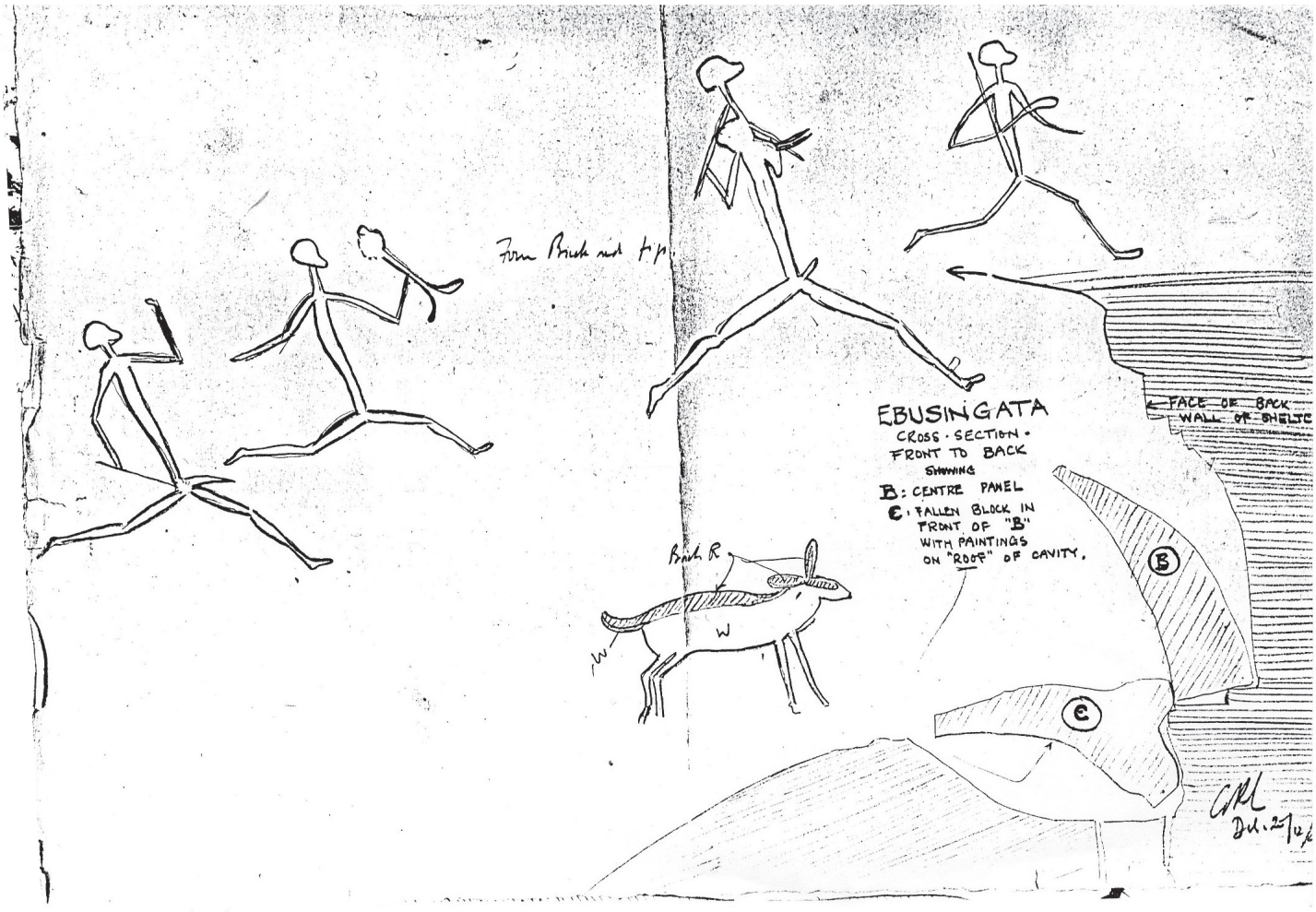


Fig. 4.6.1. SITE CROSS-SECTION SKETCH BY VAN RIET LOWE (20 DECEMBER 1946)
Panel B is drawn as a curved slice of rock a narrow distance away from the back wall of the shelter, and Panel C is a wedge fallen over into a horizontal position in front of B with paintings on its underside. Image: KZNM (A544).

> The original of the photograph is in our museum. It is a painting NOT an engraving. I removed it myself from the Ebusingata Cave near the Royal Natal National Park some years ago. (His capitalization.)

The note led me to search for this feline within the collections of the Rock Art Research Institute to which the rock art collection of the Archaeological Survey was eventually transferred, after numerous moves and changes in institutional structures since Van Riet Lowe's time (Benjamin Smith pers. comm. 2010). The hunt for the lion was successful, but as an institutionalized accession, the provenance of the feline had been completely lost (**Plate 4.6.18c**).

At all stages of the recording, and eventually the physical dismantling of the panel, the most vivid ochre figures were isolated and the remainder of the block ignored. Several less colourful and more coarsely drawn animal figures were depicted in the upper part of this block, including what looks like a large eland-like figure above the layered bovid group. At least two additional eland figures, visible on the lateral face of this block, also went unrecorded and were discarded during the removals. The digital restoration of Panel "D" reveals that the brightly coloured figures were painted near or touching the perimeter of this block, as if the painters construed the bottom edge as the ground or a physical barrier in relation to which they positioned their figures (**Plate 4.6.20**). Because the rock morphology in this part of the shelter has changed so much, and because I do not know what all the surrounding rock formations originally looked like, the restored panel floats somewhat ethereally within a context provided primarily by contemporary photographs.

PANEL "E"

Van Riet Lowe located Panel E below Panel D (**Plate 4.4.13**). It was another of the three "Post-Bantu Bushman" panels which he grouped together chronologically that included depictions of items such as "men with shields, assegais and cattle—objects hitherto unknown to the Bushman—objects which prove the modernity of the paintings" (c.1947: 6-7). Similarly, Battiss placed these paintings in a category he calls the "Last Period", comprising true Bushman paintings with cattle, thereby post-dating what he called the "Bantu invasion" (1948: 72). However, neither he nor Van Riet Lowe described Panel E in any further detail. No photographs are known to exist of this panel. The partial restoration of Panel E thus relies on a number of assumptions.

To begin with, I have assumed that the Elephant Man panel is reflected in Van Riet Lowe's lettered scheme, even though some paintings are not, which seems a more than fair assumption. He is likely to have included the most striking figures, and the paintings of which he made tracings. Only two panels in the sequence remain to be rediscovered: E and F. Thereafter, the idea that the Elephant Man panel corresponds with Panel E is based on the panel area of approximately 30 square feet (about 2.8m2) recorded by Van Riet Lowe, as opposed to that of Panel F, a panel about one fifth the size. The surface of the removed Elephant Man stone measures almost 6 square feet on its own, and from the more detailed, although written and somewhat vague, Frobenius recording of this panel we know that the hybrid figure was associated with other painted imagery. Other more subtle details that point to Panel E being the Elephant Man panel emerge further on.

As described in the Cinyati section (4.3), Schulz provided a moderately detailed description of Elephant Man's context in her site notes, recording a third panel located between her second and fourth panel (Panels B and D). The figure she described in the most detail in this part of the cave was a large human figure in red and yellowish-white with an elephant trunk and tusks (1929: 13). The intriguing personage was subsequently traced by Anne Van Riet Lowe in 1945, from which

tracing Van Riet Lowe redrew a cleaner version (**Plate 4.6.21**). In 1946 Battiss also produced a tracing and redrawing that he used to illustrate his category of "mythical figures and masked men" (Battiss 1948: 206-7; **Fig. 4.6.2**). Although the removed stone comprises a wider set of figures, Elephant Man was originally intended to be cut out in isolation, as indicated by tentative drill-holes (some subsequently repaired) that tightly frame the figure. In 1973 it was traced surrounded by his swarm of bees in a meticulously detailed tracing by Harald Pager (**Fig. 4.5.1**). It is striking that the Elephant Man figure has been copied more often than any other and its stone is the only removed piece from eBusingatha to be on display currently. Each time it was selected out from many other images, although the precedent set by the Frobenius publications probably had an important influence in this regard (**Fig. 4.6.3**, **Cat. V**, **Plate 4.6.22**, **4.6.23**).

As the genealogy of the Sehonghong rainmaking scene also shows (chapter 2), iconic images are perpetuated in the published domain to the virtual exclusion of other figures or contextual features with which they were associated. Despite the fact that—or perhaps precisely because—the Elephant Man attracted so much attention, its wider context was neglected in the recording and forgotten in the literature. The removed piece currently on display at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum features, among other shapes and fragments, two yellow-and-white eland and several small running human figures in white, red and yellow. Other figures are truncated by the chiselled edges, pointing to an even wider context for the imagery.

Of all the manual copies listed above, the Battiss tracing is the only one that does not represent Elephant Man as an isolated figure. He is surrounded by a large swarm of dots, and beyond these, other figures including small red human figures and blue-grey and white cattle (**Plate 4.6.23**).[6] Schulz's notes (1929: 13) also describe bluish cattle with white horns and belly located in close proximity to the Elephant Man, one of which was the subject of a copy by Weyersberg. Battiss produced another tracing of Panel E that can be matched up with a second Weyersberg copy (**Plate 4.6.24**). This linkage begins to create a wider pictorial context for the Elephant Man but the digital restoration is still partial, and some relationships between the blocks tentative (**Plate 4.6.25**). The full restoration is made up of seven (possibly eight) pieces from the KwaZulu-Natal Museum. The drill-holes that separate these pieces match up, as do lines and faults in the rock that continue from one rock to another. It may seem odd that Van Riet Lowe does not mention the iconic figure in his Ebusingata paper, but he had much else to say about this cave and insisted that it could only be but a "brief analysis" of this art gallery (c.1947: 7).

Further light might be shed onto this puzzle by a secondary copy that Battiss may have completed of the entire "Elephant-man frieze" at Van Riet Lowe's request,[7] but I unfortunately have not been able to establish the copy's location, or whether it still exists. A better understanding of the geological context would also be helpful, but the appearance of the rock formations around Elephant Man is unknown, and its exact location within the cave is fuzzy. In Van Riet Lowe's frontal site sketch, Panel E appears smaller than Panel D although its painted surface area is given as twice the size (30 square feet as opposed to 16; **Plate 4.4.13**). This can be explained by the fact that Panel E is further to the back of the cave and its view is partially obscured by other blocks. Battiss describes the location of certain paintings as being "on the left [side of the shelter], on the

[6] Manhire et al. (1986: 27) have noted that these distinctive figures belong to a northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg 'style' of cattle depictions, suggesting that they constitute a "localized stylistic manifestation" with potential symbolic and chronological implications.

[7] Letter from Battiss to Van Riet Lowe, 22 April 1947. ASW (Vol. 73 B24 Pt IV).

Fig. 4.6.2. W. BATTISS'S DIAGRAM OF 'ELEPHANT MAN' (1948: 207).

Fig. 4.6.3. L. FROBENIUS'S DIAGRAM OF 'ELEPHANT MAN' (see **Cat. V** for references).

vertical sides of low-lying slabs which have fallen from the roof in comparatively recent times" (1948: 72). An out-of-focus photograph taken around the time of the removals shows a number of men standing within the shelter in front of Panel D (**Plate 4.6.26**). The man on the right appears to be dressed more formally and is wearing a watch that catches the light; this might have been the stonemason (G. A. Smith?[8]) and the other men possibly his African workers. What is significant about the position he occupies in the photograph is that he is standing fully upright below Panel D with this large block jutting out above him, giving us an idea of the scale and nature of the space on this lower level. The rock formations behind him are recognizable on Van Riet Lowe's frontal sketch and consequently the place where Panel E is indicated lies in the shadows behind the figure off to his left in the photograph.

Another c.1936 photograph of the panel shows a tantalizing glimpse of these same rock formations below D in clearer detail, but only includes the very edge of the section of rock designated "E" in Van Riet Lowe's sketch. It cannot be conclusively matched up with any of the actual rock fragments that we know to belong to Panel E. Van Riet Lowe's note beside the oxen he traced here reads, "traced in extremely awkward position and bad light with storm threatening" (**Plate 4.4.12**) and the narrow, low and sheltered position of Panel E fits with this low-light context. It seems as though Elephant Man originally resided in a dark shrine-like niche, into which one had to step down to view the paintings. In this cave with its Western aspect, it might have been in the light of the setting sun that the panel was viewed at its warmest and most vivid.

PANEL "F"

Less still is known about the smaller and final Panel F. My identification of this panel also relies on several assumptions.

Van Riet Lowe's frontal site sketch indicates that Panel F was situated on the slanted underside of a flat block lying at an almost horizontal angle below Panel D (and in front of Panel E). An obliquely-lying slab fitting this depiction can be made out in a photograph (**Plate 4.6.27**). No drawings, tracings or photographs capture any details of this particular rock slab and the fact that its imagery was difficult to view must have contributed to the fact that it is underrepresented in the various recordings (as with Panel C). In her notes, Schulz recorded the presence of a sixth panel

> [o]n a completely barricaded stone that can hardly be seen and cannot be copied: in an area of approximately 1m: a hunt, about a dozen very slender antelope, approx. 15cm, and *ca.* 9 running men firing bows, approximately 8cm, all in brown paint, even in the antelope there is no white here. The humans [are] also very slender, and like the animals they are very animated (1929: 14).

This description closely matches one of Battiss's tracings (**Plate 4.5.2**), measuring approximately 120 x 50cm (in other words 0.6m2, about 6 square feet) and depicting eleven brown and pink antelope, possibly rhebuck, all running in formation towards the right with nine men in the margins, including several archers with arrows poised and pointing towards them. While Schulz did not record any cats here, Battiss included two (possibly three) small felines in yellow ochre with rounded heads, bringing the total feline count at eBusingatha to six (**Plate 4.6.28**).

If Battiss found the group too difficult to copy *in situ* he might have taken the opportunity

[8] Letter from Van Riet Lowe to Smith, 4 January 1947. ASW (Vol. 73 B24/4).

to do so once the slab had been moved or removed (**Plate 4.5.1**). As described in the post-removal section (4.5), it seems likely that this was the slab that was reported as stolen from the Royal Natal National Park museum in the early 1950s.

Van Riet Lowe placed Panel F in his "Post-Bantu" category, yet these paintings do not include any of the diagnostic features such as cattle or assegais. Perhaps his categorization relied on a stylistic argument: the figures here are more rudimentary in appearance and painted in flat values of brown, pink and yellow ochre, perhaps fitting with his notion of a more conventionalized, "hurried and stilted" art created during this restless period (c.1947: 6). My identification of Panel F must therefore remain provisional.

SEPARATE PANELS STITCHED INTO ONE WHOLE SITE

In this restoration of eBusingatha, I re-establish links between previously isolated elements of the archive, 'reining in' those that have come to circulate in the world as unattached items. Restored views enable one to visualize the location and appearance of each of the individual panels, contextualizing the selectivity of individual copyists and copies. The analysis of the site in terms of separate panels remains, however, a divisive external construct and another step is required for these compartmentalized segments to be imagined as part of a more seamless whole, a singular unified site of paintings. In a future project, I hope to explore the possibilities of moving from these essentially two-dimensional collages of flat pictures to a three-dimensional site model. The panel reconstructions will serve as a storyboard for a digital animation that doubles as a documentary film of the site's history.[9] The re-visualization of eBusingatha will of course never be complete, but digital restoration stakes out the importance of the continual return to the place.

[9] This project is a collaboration between myself, the Rock Art Mapping Project (for the laser scanning) and the Digital Arts Division of the Wits School of Arts (for the digital animation). We put in an application for funding to the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund in April 2011 and the purchase of the project 'super computer' in November 2011 marked the official start of the project.

5
Beyond the empirical

A 'PICTORIOGRAPHY' OF COPIES

While earlier chapters have been primarily archival and descriptive, focusing on the observable relationship of copy to original, there is no clear separation between the empirical implications of a mode of reproduction and its epistemological inferences. One moves very quickly into the realm of attributing meaning because copying is never a purely material or intuitive exercise; it is always related in one way or another to discursive practice.

Through my research, I have extended Leibhammer's (2009) historiographic framework (introduced in section 1.1) both back and forward in time to encompass the earliest eighteenth-century copies produced in the wider region as well as high-end digital technologies currently in development. Visual records are variable through time and from one artist to another, and each artist—even each copy—can be assessed individually, because each employs different conventions and preconceived ideas as well as personal and intuitive positions. But as Leibhammer shows, certain trends emerge.

The earliest copies were incidental, isolated by-products of expeditions driven by commercial or scientific objectives. From the late 1860s onwards, copyists began to produce more substantial bodies of work and it is appropriate to consider them as the first 'recorders'. Some witnessed a living, although dwindling, Bushman presence and they were the first to document rock art within a modern optic: with the intention of creating a documentary record of a fading and non-renewable resource in order for it to be preserved for posterity.

The physical removal of painted surfaces is the most extreme attempt to capture the originals: to fracture them into smaller chunks for museum storage or display is also a way of creating new pictorial objects from old pictures. But while physically removed paintings are also highly selective samples, separated from their natural context and embodying imposed physical edges that did not exist before, they allow an appreciation of their materiality that pictorial copies don't permit: the removed pieces preserve their status as three-dimensional artefacts. My analysis is, however, more centrally concerned with two-dimensional versions of rock paintings.

All early copyists gazed at rock paintings from an interpretive distance because they were relatively unfamiliar with the societies of the painters, and their symbolism and spirituality. In the course of the twentieth century, freehand copies made way for photography and tracing. As recording techniques have steadily become more specialized and systematic, especially over the last three decades, scholars have been learning about San culture and applying anthropological

models for a new interpretation of the art. Leibhammer's historiography tracks the history of copies in relation to this history of interpretation. There is, however, another way to order a history of copies, as a 'pictoriography': the story of their pictureness. This version of the history, at its point of departure at least, is less interested in the ability of the copies to capture or convey the semantics of the paintings' symbolic constituents. It is concerned in the first instance with their pictorial and graphic attributes.

PAINTERLY – DIAGRAMMATIC – PHOTOGRAPHIC – DIGITAL

With one of the oldest and longest pictorial traditions as its point of departure, my study forms a transect of visual media covering three major trends in the visual recording of rock art. One is shaped by a set of drawing conventions borrowed from scientific illustration, which translates sketches or tracings of the polychrome paintings into diagrammatic monochrome redrawings. Another comprises painted 'real colour' renditions often created by artists rather than archaeological copyists. A third is the tradition of rock art photography. With digital photography increasingly replacing 'chemical' or 'analogue' photography, this category straddles the pre-digital/digital divide. In the early days of photography, this technique straddled the manual/mechanical divide, because photographs were sometimes touched up to enhance the visibility or colour of certain features. My analysis is embedded in a fourth, digital, age of rock art visualization, heralded by the digitization of old images and the digital creation of new types of images.[1]

We are still in the early years of the digital era and so are denied a full understanding of its implications. It is nonetheless clear that the advent of digital media represents a certain kind of revolution, a radical break with the past. Although not yet integrated into mainstream recording strategies, several current digital techniques have the potential to revolutionize the way in which rock paintings are visualized, studied and ultimately understood. This new, qualitatively different generation of image-making technology includes high-end photography in ultra-high resolution formats, manipulated through algorithmic enhancement to produce false-colour versions (e.g. Hollmann & Crause 2011).

In the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg, the laser scanning of rock painting sites may yield interactive virtual models[2] and further afield 3D film techniques have been used to portray cave paintings in France.[3] This technology is already used for documenting heritage sites all over the world, and although it has primarily been applied to the built environment it is also being applied to other archaeological features, for example wall paintings and rock engravings,[4] and has been used with impressive results to record the subterranean sandstone caves of Nottingham, England.[5]

[1] I understand digitization to mean the conversion or translation of analog media into digital form, different from the production of first-generation digital data.

[2] The laser-scanning programme of the Rock Art Mapping Project has been recording sites in the Ukahlamba-Drakensberg Park since 2010 and is currently in an experimental phase of turning the point clouds into workable models.

[3] Werner Herzog's 3D documentary The Cave of Forgotten Dreams (2010) provides a cinematic visualization of the Upper Palaeolithic imagery of Chauvet Cave.

[4] Several examples can be viewed on CyArk, a non-profit organization seeking to archive the world's cultural heritage using laser scanning and digital modeling (archive.cyark.org; website last viewed 6 June 2012).

[5] The Nottingham Cave Survey is in the process of recording hundreds of caves (nottinghamcavessurvey.org.uk; website last viewed 6 June 2012).

As the photographic capture and rendering capabilities of 3D modelling improve, the possibilities for the creation of 3D models of painted caves will expand. I do not elaborate on the implications of these developments because my analysis is primarily concerned with pre-digital modes, but my research is nevertheless already influenced and enabled by the digital era. The fact that I can consider such a variety of pictures is due to the digitization of older records and the ease with which it is possible to acquire and navigate through them, to consider them alongside one another and to view or modify them as research questions or illustrative requirements dictate. In all eras of image-making, no matter what visual medium is used, we commonly forget that copies are not the same as original paintings. However direct or natural a picture may seem, copies involve a significant degree of remove and translation. A copy is always a construction. It is becoming ever more important to emphasize this idea in our digital world, where images can be so convincing, realistic, powerful and self-effacing.

The archives I explored in earlier chapters provide numerous examples of painterly, diagrammatic and photographic reproductions. The categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but they reflect the changing availability of image-making technology.

Although currently, as previously suggested, digital visualization may have already begun to disturb the status quo, the monochrome diagrammatic drawing technique still dominates the field, and it has wielded a powerful influence over many decades. Leibhammer refers to it as the "RARI convention" (2009: 58), although other institutions in South Africa and further afield follow similar conventions. Here I also focus on RARI practice in order to limit the discussion to specific examples. Because the Sehonghong and eBusingatha genealogies both end many decades ago as far as the production of manual copies is concerned, they do not feature in its fullest expression this mode that is so central to the contemporary field of rock art studies. I have touched on several of its implications elsewhere and here I provide a closer visual analysis.

THE MONOCHROME DIAGRAMMATIC STANDARD

In the last three decades, rock art research has grown into a prominent and distinctive field of academic enquiry with an important centre located at the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI), University of the Witwatersrand. Humble beginnings in the form of a site register and collection within an archaeological survey and then academic department (1930s to 1970s) eventually led to the establishment of a rock art research programme with a single dedicated member of staff (from 1980) and a more substantial research unit some years later (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 37-38). RARI is now a fully fledged academic centre with a staff body comprising full-time members dedicated to research, project and collections management, and digitization. Over this thirty-year period, the central research thrust has been to establish connections between the figural iconographic content of the paintings and ethnographic texts. Through this endeavour, rock art researchers have made a significant contribution to a more nuanced, primarily semantic, reading of the paintings, and their work has had implications for rock art studies worldwide. New approaches, still rooted in figural iconography but seen to be broader and more comprehensive, are beginning to be explored in light of this ethnographically situated content (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42). Not so long ago considered *persona non grata* within the realm of professional archaeology (Lewis-Williams 1975: 94), rock art research now forms an influential sub-discipline in archaeology in southern Africa. Because of rock art studies' inherent challenges and opportunities, researchers have built up their own specific methods and techniques for picturing the artefacts that they study.

The RARI convention is a "black line on white field" drawing style (Leibhammer 2009: 58). It comprises distinct phases of transfer, one involving tracing in pencil and one involving redrawing in ink. By comparison with photographs (or other copying techniques), it is "more agentive and capable of excavating fine iconographic detail in the form of a technical drawing" (Ouzman 2010b: 18). Other professions that require clear and precise diagrams, such as architecture and engineering, use similar techniques and earlier rock art copyists made use of simpler but comparable diagrams from tracings (e.g. **Fig. 2.3**, **Plates 4.4.8** to **4.4.12**, **Figs. 4.5.1**, **5.1**). Since the early 1980s, this mode of reproduction has been further formalized in the service of a more "controlled study of the works" and within an optic of establishing a "graphic language of science" (Leibhammer 2009: 56). Within the Rock Art Research Institute and its predecessors, the skills of tracing and redrawing have been learnt partly by apprenticeship in the field and lab, and partly by word of mouth from experienced workers, that is, by spoken word and image; its practitioners have at times gathered together short sets of in-house notes (Sven Ouzman pers. comm. 2012) but never produced a formal handbook or set of guidelines (David Pearce pers. comm. 2011). Some detail about this technique can also be found in publication (e.g. Loubser & Den Hoed 1991).[6]

Copyists following the RARI convention execute the first phase, the tracing, on site using clutch pencils and professional-quality tracing paper carefully affixed to the rock surface. Two to three people work per tracing in order to check its accuracy and to minimize idiosyncratic interpretation. Tracers discuss the decisions taken regarding the precise form of the original and a compromise is reached with an estimated 90 percent in agreement and 10 percent contested (Leibhammer 2009: 57). Because of the required directness of the transfer from the rock paintings onto the tracing paper, it has been suggested that too much artistic skill might actually be a hindrance (ibid.: 58). Inversely, prior knowledge of the figural iconography is considered a prerequisite. The tracing itself is a transitional document, geared towards the subsequent creation of a clean and final inked version. It tends to be smudged and untidy, reflecting the process of teasing smooth forms out from the rough rock surface, and can include tentative and mnemonic markings, notations or erasures.

Once completed, field tracings are converted into redrawings, sometimes by external skilled technical artists, such as fine arts students or graduates, employed for this purpose. Because several different people work on each tracing and because of the formal conventions that dictate the appearance of the final drawing, the results of this copying technique ultimately appear unauthored. Field tracings usually do bear the name of the tracer, while redrawings seldom bear the name of either the tracer or the redrawer, but the general style and appearance of these tracings or redrawings is not authorially distinctive. Just as there is a desire to minimize the subjectivity of the copyists, the technique tends to minimize or even exclude "messy" elements inherent in the rock paintings such as "colour, paint texture and the inclusion of rock surface visual 'noise'" (ibid.: 56). In other words, it converts the complex and often ambiguous painted artworks into clean diagrammatic forms.

[6] If correctly practiced, tracing should not damage – or even touch - the paintings, but obviously it remains a physically intimate activity and the paper needs to be attached to the wall in close proximity to the painted imagery. SAHRA does not enforce tracing as a permit-ed activity, although ASAPA has challenged this position (Sven Ouzman, pers. comm, 2012).

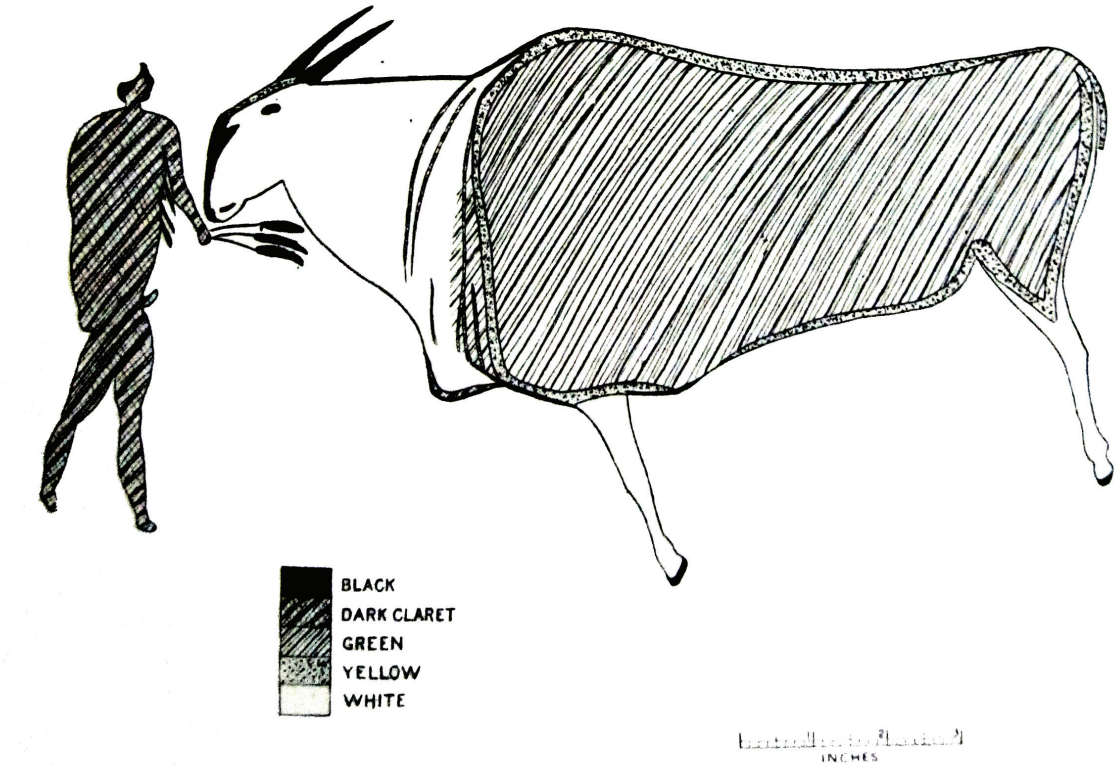


Fig. 5.1. AN EARLY COLOUR-CODED DIAGRAM of a rock painting originally captioned “A polychrome painting of a man feeding an eland at Camp Siding, Tylden” (Burkitt 1928: fig.XXIII).

At a basic level, selectivity has to operate when a colour painting in a three-dimensional sandstone shelter is transposed onto the pages of a book or journal, or into a website or an illustrated lecture format; short of taking viewers to the actual site, framed, selective, flattened and projected views are unavoidable. The question is more about the nature and awareness of the selection, that is, what the recorder or copyist chooses, consciously or sub-consciously, to give form to, or what is left out.

Moreover, "[f]ar from being a mechanical documentation of 'facts', tracing is a form of analysis that is more than merely 'descriptive'" (Lewis-Williams 1990b: 127). (The term "tracing" is often used as shorthand for the final image produced as per the technique outlined above—the ink redrawing—which is actually rather different in appearance from the transitional tracing.) Similarly, Leibhammer suggests that copies perform a number of different roles in relation to the original rock paintings: at different moments they "capture, constitute and explain information" (2009: 43). Lewis-Williams and Pearce point out that specific kinds of copies serve specific kinds of scholarship:

> Always, we must remember that copies are made for particular purposes and that they are not substitutes for the originals. For instance, the black-and-white, diagrammatic tracings … are designed to show specific components of the images and features of the rock face, some of which are hard or impossible to discern in photographs. They and others like them are not facsimiles (2009: 44).

A drawing that is diagrammatic presents the simplified shapes and features required to support an explanation rather than attempting to reproduce the effect of the original's actual appearance. Some scholars have pointed out that on some levels the diagrams are highly inaccurate, for example when it comes to the colour and texture of the painted figures or the natural rock canvas (e.g. Dowson 1996: 316–18). Any visual content other than the figural iconography is difficult to represent in illustrations that eschew the veristic. From a different angle, and in an interesting paradox, tracings actually embody much greater 'accuracy' than the originals, because they render the figural iconographic content as more salient and simultaneously apparent than it is in real life. To record every aspect of the original effectively, the "rock has to be inspected under varying lighting conditions at different times of the day" (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 38). Ouzman (2010b: 18) considers tracing to be a "cornerstone of Lewis-Williams' revolutionary reinterpretation of San rock art because it forces the researcher to spend long hours contemplating iconography, pigment, production technique, placement and association". But while tracing certainly involves an engagement with the shifting visuality of the paintings and the tracer gains a uniquely intimate knowledge of them, that intimacy is lost in the process of extracting a monochrome synthesis that embodies precisely the kind of clarity, selectivity and simultaneity that does not exist in the originals. In order to achieve a clear rendering of the figural iconographic content, colour and context are purged, and any uncertainties or subtleties that may have been part of the originals are eliminated. In other words, the translation expunges experiential qualities and creates a cerebral abstraction. Tracings are akin to models or hypotheses in the sense that they capture the essence of a particular problem; mask-like, they reduce complex pictorial experiences to binary values, evoking a sense of precision and visual solidity, hiding the disorderliness and ambiguities in the original.

Tracing has been an indispensable tool for research (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 38), but at the same time, researchers cannot ever "regard it as equivalent to the art or think that it has captured every feature" (Lewis-Williams 1990a: 128). While the importance of staying as close as possible

to the original paintings is acknowledged, researchers do not always have the luxury of returning continually to the paintings. Copying strategies are deployed in the first instance to create a record of mobile, reproducible pictures through which the imagery can be studied off-site. Copies often do (necessarily) take the place of the original paintings so that "[d]ecisions taken while tracing are fundamental [because] features omitted at this stage are lost to a research project forever" (ibid.: 127). Assumptions built into the copies circulate independently of the paintings, so it is worth considering what aspects of research are influenced by this reliance on copies. Similar questions arise in the case of excavation-based research (arguably all research), where scholars need to be aware of perpetuating the selectivity of published data or interpretations if they do not return to the original sources or materials.

Proponents of positivist, empiricist approaches have sought to attain comprehensive and neutral documentation, but whether this can ever be achieved is questionable, and especially dubious is the notion that they can provide an objective platform on which any sort of interpretive exercise could subsequently be performed (Lewis-Williams 1990a: 126). Researchers usually approach the rock imagery with some kind of interest or hypothesis in mind, so that what is recorded will be concerned with those features that are apposite to the hypothesis. A preconceived idea of what is significant is actually desirable, because, as is well known, "blind data collection is pointless and wasteful" (Davis 1985: 5). An exception might be the quest to record as much as possible for the sake of creating records, which is a task that isn't "neatly tied to a scientific aim" but that generates records that can be made "available for any number of different purposes" (Clegg 1983: 88). Even in this scenario, however, in a sense blind collection is an impossibility, because recorders always begin with an idea of what is significant.

Despite the acknowledged impossibility of a comprehensive copy, it is still preferable to get as close to comprehensive as possible. A copy that leans in this direction should ideally involve a combination of techniques (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 44) and include "information about the local context of an image, such as its exact place in relation to other images or significant landmarks" (Davis 1985: 5); in other words, it should comprise elements that enable and encourage "contextual analysis" (Ouzman 2010b: 30). A cave, shelter or discrete geologically defined space seems a logical and valid unit for analysis:

> Ideally one ought to take into account all the images occurring in the same shelter, as even the isolation of certain rock faces or panels within those rock faces constitutes an imposition of a frame where no frame exists (Nettleton 1985: 58).

In this optic, new digital techniques such as Kevin Crause's CPED method, particularly its "site-in-context" viewing capabilities, promise a huge leap forward for much more comprehensive off-site visualization than it has ever been possible to attain before now (Hollmann & Crause 2011). Of course, 'comprehensive' will not ever entail absolute completeness or certainty; it is a relative and ever-shifting goalpost as our understanding of what is significant is always contingent on new work (cf. Ouzman 2010b: 30).

While there is awareness that at one end of the spectrum no documentation can ever achieve complete comprehensiveness or accuracy, recorders must also be wary of being too selective (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1981a: 16–24, 2006: 358). For hypotheses to influence recording is not in itself problematic, but a situation where the same recording format is repeated unquestioningly can in the long run lock researchers into presuppositions or assumptions that may not be useful for other

hypotheses (Davis 1985: 5). Copies of all kinds are problematic when they are purported to replace the original; all "add, change and reduce" information in their own specific way (Leibhammer 2009: 58). At the same time, each kind of copy can be useful for enabling a particular kind of understanding. But, in all cases, it is only by considering the copies in the context of the originals (instead of in isolation), that the full implications of using a particular kind of copy become visible.

"Of all the conventions, the RARI convention of copying leans towards the scientific in its desire to stabilise and control information by minimising variables", leaving the viewer "little room for doubt in its clear definitions of form" (Leibhammer 2009: 58). These graphic translations have enabled the elaborate figuration and rich symbolic language of the parietal art to be brought with precision and clarity into the literature and to a wider audience. When viewed in isolation, tracings and the monochrome diagrams derived from them appear authoritative and unambiguous, although they have also been described as "visually bland" (Skotnes 1996a: 236). When viewed alongside the original paintings, they appear jarring, fractured and disjointed.

A NON-PICTORIAL IMAGE

Almost thirty years ago, a breakthrough in San rock art research began through a "process of mutual illumination between the ethnography and the paintings" (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 131). While the use of ethnography in rock art research has been lauded from many corners, an intense focus on trance-related explanations has been heavily criticized by some who feel it downplays, or ignores, diversity and channels interpretation into essentially shamanistic terms, while they propose that interpretation be rethought in terms of, for example, San gender relations, mythology, storytelling, cosmology or animism (e.g. Parkington 1989; Solomon 1992, 1997a, 2008; Skotnes 1996a; Dowson 2007, 2009). The shamanistic research thrust is strongly associated with the diagrammatic standard that Skotnes (1996a: 244) describes as "more than just a convenient method for recording the paintings" having both "influenced and restricted interpretation". But shamanistic interpretations are not built into this standard; moreover, authors exploring other research directions also often employ the same kinds of illustrations, even when their enquiry is not as rooted in figural iconographic analysis.

For a deeper understanding of the precise manner in which the diagrammatic standard serves scholarship, I argue that we need to push interpretive questions aside, and consider in a non-circular way how the diagrams translate the rock paintings on a material level. We can begin with an idea that underlies some of the critique: rock paintings are a conflation of ideas expressed in complex ways through both content and form, but, because it isolates one kind of content, the diagrammatic mode has encouraged a "search for uniformity … and common purpose in the paintings" (Skotnes 1996a: 234). As artworks, as pictures, the paintings are colourful, painterly representations of sensory and imaginative aspects of life, yet diagrams distil these into flat colourless projections, channelling attention towards individual figures or discrete arrangements of figures, which are treated as signs in a semiological system. Although rock art research has undoubtedly involved much more than simply "text-matching" (Lewis-Williams 1999: 143), text and language remain the essential vectors and metaphors used to uncover and to explain the meaning of San rock paintings.

In Western visual culture, Elkins points to the default "preference for reading" in cases where it is not possible to decide naïvely which of "reading" or "looking" would be most appropriate (1999: 146, 192). Stafford (1997: 3-17) also sees the dominant view of cognition as strongly writing- and

language-bound, the result of a forceful linguistic turn in contemporary thought that entrenches a kind of anti-visualism. She observes that academics study graphic representations and physical objects primarily through a metaphor of text. Rock art research in southern Africa is a strong case in point. There are numerous references to the problem of the interpretation of San rock paintings as being one of reading, and numerous explicit analogies with writing and text (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1975, 1998; Dowson 1994; Parkington et al. 1996; Ouzman 1998a, 1998b). As Lewis-Williams and Challis (2011: 13) succinctly explain, "[t]he texts *tell* us what the images mean, and the images *show* us what the words mean" (their emphasis).

The extent to which there is a connection between the reliance on these ethnographic texts and the "material culture as text" model (e.g. Hodder 1986; Tilley 1990) requires more thought (cf. Ouzman 1998a: 40), but certainly the centrality and authority of these texts, as well as the ubiquitous textual metaphors that occur within written interpretations, support the idea of a central search for "meaning" in a linguistic sense. The issue of the treatment of the paintings as text was raised by Anitra Nettleton a number of years ago:

> Ultimately one often feels that the paintings … are no more than a kind of hieroglyphics which, at best, are treated as illustrations or as further explanations of cosmological concepts (1985: 52-3).

One of the most powerful textual metaphors is the presentation of San rock paintings as something analogous to a code that needs cracking or decipherment (see also Dowson 1989; Lewis-Williams 2009: 13):

> During the 1980s and through the 1990s, despite the seemingly indelible impression of the San as fashioners of naiveté, the demonstrable fit between San beliefs and the images on the rock walls continued to provide explanations of otherwise opaque imagery. In particular, our expanding understandings of San religion and cosmology began to uncover unsuspected facets of belief and their expressions in the art. The 1980s were especially exciting times. As we learned more about the vocabulary and syntax of San rock art, we were able to "read" increasingly complex painted texts. Or, to change the metaphor, we had a bunch of keys; now we had to see what lay behind a series of locked doors (Lewis-Williams 2002b: 119).

This passage suggests that rock paintings are essentially accumulations of consistent signs and symbols whose meaning is recoverable; in other words, they are coded images that can be read by anyone who acquires possession of the necessary "keys". The book *Deciphering ancient minds* contains a different version of the text analogy (Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: 8-9; **Fig. 5.2**). The authors compare the three registers of the Rosetta Stone with the three "registers" of the San legacy. The uppermost register of the Rosetta Stone is inscribed with a hieroglyphic text; they liken this to the "highly detailed, though enigmatic, pictures (rock engravings and paintings) of the people's beliefs and religious experiences" (2011: 9). The lowest register of the Rosetta Stone is inscribed with an intelligible Greek translation; this they liken to the "transliterations of [the middle register] into English that, word by word, give patterned clues to often elusive concepts" (2011: 9). The middle register, inscribed on the Rosetta Stone with a "demotic, cursive ancient Egyptian", provides a link allowing translation between the intelligible lower and unintelligible upper registers. They liken this to the

> 19th-century phonetic texts running to over 12,000 pages of a now-extinct prehistoric language in which ancient people speak, in their own words and idioms, of their beliefs, rituals, life histories and their hunting and gathering economy, and even more voluminous 20th- and 21st-century records of the Kalahari San (2011: 9).

Fig. 5.2. TEXTUAL ANALOGY
The three registers of the San legacy presented as a 'Rosetta Stone'
(Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: 9)

The use of the word 'prehistoric' for the qualification of Bushman languages reinforces the idea of the San as remote, enigmatic or incomprehensible and obscures the subjectivity of those performing the decoding. Although the textual analogy is clearly a heuristic device, it is also an indication of the deeper linguistic reasoning used to interpret the art. Davis recognizes that while "[l]inguistic and textual metaphors transferred to the representational graphic arts are suggestive [they are] possibly very dubious" because they base themselves on a "semiotic assumption ... that a 'language' of image-making pre-exists the production of individual images and is the measure of meaning or guarantor of reference" (Davis 1985: 9). Within this linguistic model, pictorial representation is considered to be "the social, visible end-product of resolutions which have been arrived at already, rather than the site of resolution itself" (ibid.: 8).

"Tropes of reading are [of course] unavoidable in talk about images" (Elkins 2008: 1) and rock art history and archaeology will always at a fundamental level involve the translation of images into texts. Some have even questioned whether the discipline of art history might ultimately be subsumed into others such as social history or ethnography because of the special epistemological problems that images continue to pose (Stafford 1997: 43). I argue that a more visually astute scholarship of San rock art is possible, and can begin with the active role that diagrammatic translation plays, in particular the way in which it transforms the paintings into a less pictorial subject. I understand "pictorial" to pertain to "picture" as distinct from "writing". As James Elkins (1999) shows, the definition of "image" is slippery and its domain vast, especially when extended to include "non-art" images. Writing is also a visually mediated system and a kind of image, which encompasses all sorts of "patterns on surfaces, taken in by the eye" (ibid.: 256). The two theoretical ends of the spectrum stretching from writing to pictures nonetheless seem clear enough:

> On the one hand, there is normal, full writing, in which each sign stands for one determinate thing (as linguists put it, each morpheme stands for a sememe). On the other, there is picturing, in which each sign might be entirely beyond semantic control (1999: 156).

Between these two end-points, images offer the possibility of various kinds of ordering or classification. To explore the gradients between "writing" that requires reading and "picture" that requires looking, Elkins examines an evanescent spectrum of categories, moving from "pure writing" towards increasingly pictorial forms. There exists a certain slipperiness between these categories. One instance of this is the way in which captions of rock painting diagrams label them as "paintings" instead of "tracings" or "redrawings", although some, often more recent, publications show an awareness of this subtle slippage. It may seem like a pernickety or pedantic distinction to make, but it is precisely here that the treacherousness of images can be seen to operate. The slippage masks the processes of translation that the information derived from the original has undergone and is especially noticeable when tracings are copied from one mode or publication to another without recourse to the original in order to say different things about the original.

An example can help illustrate the shift from picture towards text. A cluster of rock painted figures from a shelter in the Free State, presented as "one of the most intellectually and symbolically complex rock paintings in southern Africa" (Lewis-Williams 2003: 92), is discussed in some detail across several publications (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 149; Lewis-Williams 2002b: 125, 2002c: 158; **Fig. 5.3**). This group of figures, interpreted as a depiction of "trance-dreaming" (2002b: 124), comprises "trance-buck", hybrid figures in plunging postures with parallel lines extending backwards from the undersides of their bodies superimposed onto naturalistically rendered eland. "Trance-buck" are defined as a "distinctive kind of therianthrope" that appear to be flying or kneeling, whose dynamism is typically accentuated by back- and upward-directed

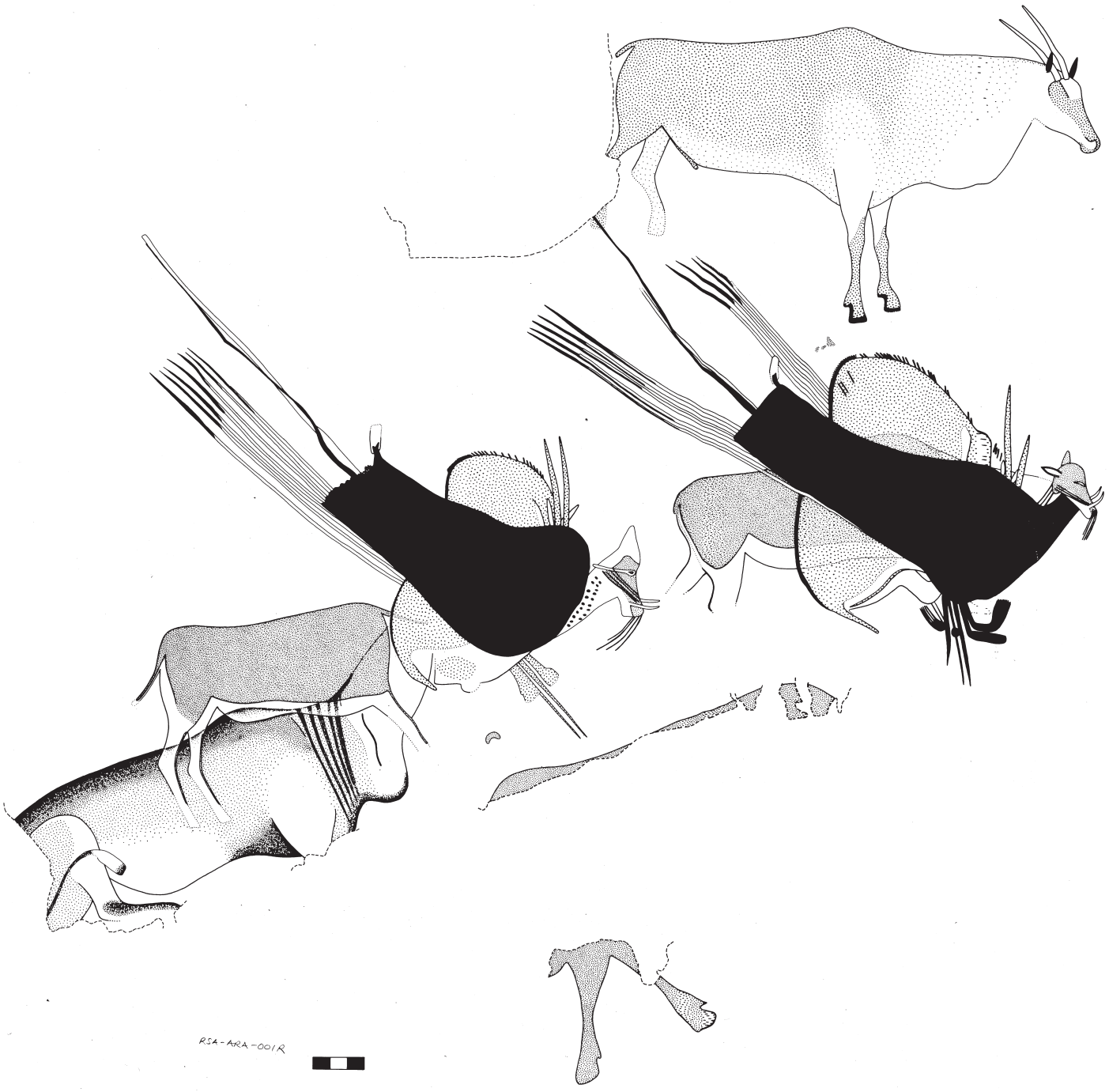


Fig. 5.3. RARI REDRAWING FROM ARARAT 1 of a “highly complex combination of eland and shamanic hallucinations” (Lewis-Williams 2002b: 125, fig.6.3), “one of the most intellectually and symbolically complex rock paintings in southern Africa” (Lewis-Williams 2003: 92, fig.67). It is suggested that the triple motif of a standing eland, curled-up eland and trance-buck (middle-right) is an example of “factitious superpositioning” because the ‘sandwiched’ figure was painted in two parts to either side of the ‘uppermost’ figure (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 149, fig.73; Lewis-Williams 2002c: 158). The tracing from which this redrawing was created is visible in **Plate 5.1**. Image: RARI (SARADA: RARI-RSA-ARA1-1R).

linear appendages such as arms or "streamers" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 72-3). Strange conflations of natural human and antelope forms like this are said to represent a transformation into antelope that shamans 'experience' in trance; even more specifically and literally, "each trance-buck represents a shaman's hallucination" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 73). It is a category that comprises figures that are graphically quite variable but that are attributed with an essentially singular meaning in terms of a stable metaphor. In another example, it is suggested that, because of varying degrees of blending in certain figures of human and eland attributes, other figures appearing as "realistic" eland may be "shamans as well as symbols of potency" even though they lack mixed features, further suggesting that "compositions such as this lead one to suspect that all painted eland may be shamans as well as symbols of [supernatural] potency" (Lewis-Williams 2002b: 127). This kind of reasoning suggests that meaning is established by identifying a discrete figural unit in the rock painting with a trance-related item or concept, an idea that is built on the assumption that the paintings are literal representations or copies of non-real experiences or realities (cf. Nettleton 1985: 52-3; Davis 1996: 126-7; Skotnes 1996a: 244; Solomon 2008: 60). The shift from one level of metaphors to another, in which, for example, "one cannot be sure if one is looking at a 'real' dying eland or at a metaphorical depiction of a 'dying' shaman" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 53 quoted in Dowson 2009: 381), creates the "impression [that] *any* depiction can be interpreted in terms of shamanic experiences and beliefs; if not now, eventually" (ibid., his italics). This is because the shamanic reading is analogous to textual reading, where the relationship between the referent and meaning is stable, as it is in language. Although Lewis-Williams (1998: 87) explains that the shamanistic explanation does not deny the possibility of multiple meanings, his polysemy is still understood in the same semiotic terms, where "other meanings are [necessarily] *encoded* in the images" (my emphasis).

Traced diagrams also retain certain fundamental figurative and representational aspects of the paintings, so it is not a transformation into "pure writing". In any case, Elkins (1999) shows that all forms of writing comprise pictorial aspects and that pure writing does not in fact exist, but that certain kinds of image come close, for example normative scripts and typography. The diagrammatization of San rock paintings turns rock paintings into images that hover over the boundary between Elkins's adjacent categories of "pseudo-writing" (ibid.: ch.9) and "picture-writing" (ibid.: ch.10). Pseudo-writing is a category of images that are not writing but still contain disjointed signs that look like they could plausibly be read (ibid.: 144) because they are aligned in apparently comprehensible paths that support this reading. The cipher-like appearance to the archaeologist of rock art of all kinds undoubtedly encourages this treatment as pseudo-writing (cf. Molyneaux 1997b: 7). The essential difference between pseudo-writing and picture-writing is that the first includes discrete signs organized in a syntactic fashion, while the second comprises more asyntactically arranged signs that can nonetheless be "read as sentences or narratives" (ibid.: 165). Rock art scholars use the notion of "syntax" as the linking of discrete semantic units into a further layer of meaning (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1972; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 43), which is a somewhat looser usage than syntax in linguistics. But whether a diagram of a rock painting functions as pseudo-writing or picture-writing, we are still far away from the pictorial end of the spectrum.

The category of "pure picture" on the other hand comprises images that refuse to allow themselves to be segmented or disjointed; an indivisible structureless visual object with no primary "meaning". This ultimate pictorial category appears equally elusive and may well only exist as a theoretical possibility, although the example of photography comes close to "pure picture", presenting itself as a "seamless excerpt of the world" (Elkins 1999: 193). But adjacent to this "pure" pictorial category are numerous sorts of paintings, which

> are understood to be images whose parts, no matter how clearly articulated they might be, are fundamentally fused into a single painted surface. … [A] painting would cease to be a painting if its figures and signs were actually disjoint (ibid.: 192).

Elkins points out that rock paintings "did not attract concerted attention before the later nineteenth century, when the age of decipherment had gotten under way" (1999: 181), a useful reminder that the categorization of images is not a stable enterprise, and depends on the eye of the beholder, the community to which she/he belongs and his/her visual literacy or "literary visualcy" (Mitchell 2008: 11). San rock painters did not typically paint in a continuous fashion over entire stretches of rock; they placed relatively isolated, although at times overlapping and merging, figures onto a surface that, overall, comprised more unpainted surface than painted motif. But short of being able to attain an insider's gaze, to know with certainty how the rock paintings appeared to those who painted them, or for whom they were painted, is impossible. The extent to which the intended viewers of the paintings were themselves able to 'see' the figures as a peelable motif "transferable from surface to surface" (Davis 1987: n2) requires more careful thought. An indication that the distinction might not have been so clear-cut comes from the fact that the painters incorporated natural elements of the rock representationally into their painted configurations.

A close visual analysis of the material aspects of paintings versus diagrams can give us a sense of the nature of the transformation from one kind of image into another. A comparison of the tracing of the cluster of figures discussed above (**Fig. 5.3**) with a photograph of the stretch of rock where these figures came from provides an example (**Plate 5.2**). The redrawing is much tidier than the actual painting, which is rough, messy and ambiguous. The natural features of the rock surface are generally not included, but several breaks that interrupt the figures are indicated with dotted lines. Colour has been expunged, and, while a colour-code indicates that the various figures are depicted in different colours of paint, colour likeness or difference between figures is not represented, for example, the similarity of the red hues of each "trance-buck" in relation to the curled-up eland figure with which it is overlapping, or the difference between these red hues and the yellower colour of the standing eland. In the translation of this rock painting into a monochrome diagram, there is a distinct shift from a picture-like material to something that is closer to writing: the seamlessness of the stretch of rock represented in the photograph is broken up, the figures are peeled away from a rough surface and transformed into clear unambiguous and successive character-like shapes. Accompanying texts explain the meaning of this composition in terms of what each figure represents.

To evoke the translation of a messy original into a clean and authoritative redrawing, Leibhammer points to a passage written by Barbara Stafford:

> In the increasingly arduous early modern quest for reliable means of dissecting true visual truth from false appearance, the crucial point was how to free images from a welter of contaminants. Who would reduce these light and color composites to homogeneity? Who, or what, would purge adulterating ambiguity, expunge error, exaggeration, and other carnal abuses so that ocular evidence might be a rational, a pure and perfect surrogate for the real thing? … The decoding hermeneuticist derived his status from the alleged capacity to probe beneath deluding surfaces. Criticism, as rational purification, proceeded initially from the microscopic examination of sacred scriptures, to the detailed scrutiny of profane literature, to the relentless interrogation of images as translatable symbols (1997: 46-7, quoted in part in Leibhammer 2009: 58).

There has been much debate in recent decades about whether either photography or tracing/redrawing should be used as the primary recording technique (e.g. Leibhammer 2009: 45). Today researchers consider the two techniques to be complementary and therefore that recording should ideally employ both (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 38, Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 44). At the same time, "tracing" is considered the less dispensable, because "it is probably true … that a panel of any complexity cannot be considered to have been adequately studied until it has been traced" (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 38). But to some extent a debate around the use of photography and/or tracing sets up a false binary of options because it does not consider alternatives. Here again, although this photography/drawing binary is still largely intact, the advances of the digital era are beginning to disturb the situation (e.g. Hollmann & Crause 2011).

In a comparison of a monochrome diagram with a colou normal functionr photograph, colour is one of the most striking omissions (**Fig. 5.3**, **Plate 5.2**). Issues of colour can provide an excellent entry-point into an exploration of the pictoriality of rock paintings. Monochrome diagrams make allusion to colour schematically through the medium of an abstract code, but its inclusion is primarily intended to sustain a reading of the figural iconography. This explains the dearth of colour illustrations in books like *Images of Power* (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989), which, as a sort of 'identification guide' for a more popular audience, was conceived as a lexicon of figural iconography.

In the early years of the scholarly study of rock art the colourful appearance of rock paintings attracted more attention than it does at present (e.g. Bleek 1874: 13; Burkitt 1928: 112-3, ch.8-9; Breuil 1930: 218-21; Van Riet Lowe 1945; Battiss 1948) and, especially prior to colour photography being widely available, many copyists produced highly coloured copies. Examples are visible in the work of George Stow (Stow & Bleek 1930; Skotnes 2008), Otto Mäder (Flett & Letley 2007), Walter Battiss (Battiss 1948), Leo Frobenius and the artists he employed (Frobenius 1931a), Richard Townley Johnson (Johnson et al. 1959, Johnson & Maggs 1979), Harald Pager (1971), Patricia Vinnicombe (1976), and more recently Stephen Townley Bassett (Bassett 2002, Bassett et al. 2008) among many others. Not all these copies are necessarily chromatically 'accurate' but they all communicate something about the colourful appearance of the originals.

Van Riet Lowe (1945) held that "objective colour recording" was an essential part of the visual description of rock paintings and part of the duty of the rock art archaeologist. In a call for a more vigorously scientific approach to issues of colour, he noted that:

> While colour phenomena can be expressed objectively in terms of physics, their perception, interpretation and description in archaeological works have always been matters of individual subjective judgment. Because colour perception is a normal function of the eye and objective colour recording requires special apparatus and technical training, colours are almost always described on the basis of individual subjective interpretations. This necessarily leads to misunderstanding and confusion unless adequate safeguards are observed. … Of the two [aspects of capturing rock paintings in a smooth copy], form and colour, colour causes the greatest difficulties (1945: 16).

As an experiment to counter this subjectivity and vagueness, Van Riet Lowe asked the Abbé Henri Breuil, a French authority on the art of the European Upper Palaeolithic who also had experience with southern African sites, to draw up a list of the commoner colours in rock paintings and to identify them according to two of the better-known colour dictionaries of their

time (Séguy 1936; Maerz & Paul 1930). The results revealed that a much finer range of colours could be ascertained, especially in the region of Ostwald's (1931) "shades and tints", where the principal pigments present in rock paintings—red, orange and yellow—were mixed with various percentages of achromatic black and white. Van Riet Lowe was well aware that a person's perception or experience of colour is influenced by many irregularly fluctuating factors, including light, humidity, texture and the adjacency or proximity of other colours, in addition to highly variable visual acuity from one individual to another. For accurate recording, he recommended that the colour in a rock painting and a swatch of a known physical value be compared side by side through a rectangular opening in a piece of neutral paper. Variables affecting perception are difficult to assess, let alone control, but the methodology he proposed was aimed at minimizing them and setting the study of colour in rock paintings on a more objective and scientific course, to establish for this slippery domain a standardized set of descriptive units.

Other recorders also sought to capture colour in various ways, sometimes according to standard colour charts or dictionaries (e.g. Willcox 1956: 44;[7] Chaplin 1960;[8] Vinnicombe 1967: 130;[9] Pager 1971: 234[10]) or more personal schemes such as that devised by Vinnicombe (Vinnicombe 1960: 13; Olofsson 2009). Certain copyists pushed the desire to capture the exact colours of the rock paintings beyond the copies, for instance George Stow, who collected what he believed to be specimens of the substances used in the paintings "then [still] obtainable in some caves" (Stow & Bleek 1930: xxvii) or Walter Battiss, who collected and catalogued detached flakes of painted rock (**Plate 4.4.17**). Despite Van Riet Lowe's recommendation to employ colour swatches for rock art research, no colorimetric system ever caught on. The Munsell soil colour chartToday users of colour photography often employ the passive technique of colour scales such as the International Federation of Rock Art Organisations (IFRAO)'s standard scale (Bednarik 1994). Since its introduction it has been widely used in rock art photography around the world, but it provides a false sense of objectivity because to colour-correct a photograph using the scale is not straightforward in practice (Mark & Newman 1997; Reijs 2004). It deflects responsibility from the photographer to strive to obtain well-balanced colour shots in the first place, because few photographers make an effort to understand the settings on a camera and it is assumed that colours can be corrected chemically or digitally later on. There is an increased reliance on the technology to do the work when in fact "some of the most important aspects of archaeological photography have more to do with the person holding the camera than the camera itself" (Connah 2010: 93-94). Moreover, the colour fields of the IFRAO scale are not properly colour-calibrated and do not include a neutral grey pigment bar for white balance correction. Finally, they are printed on a shiny paper surface that reflects light, so, even with the necessary photographic and digital image processing skills, I question the scale's reliability for accurate colour correction of digital photographs.[11]

Today RARI tracers use broad and generic terms such as red, white, orange or black, sometimes in combination as in pink red or brown ochre or with adjectives such as dark or faded.

[7] Maerz and Paul (1930) and Ostwald (1931) following Van Riet Lowe (1945).

[8] Rock Color Chart of the Geological Society of America (1951 edition), which was a precursor to Munsell.

[9] Munsell Soil Colour Chart (1954 edition).

[10] Ibid.

[11] For his high-end digital image processing, Kevin Crause (pers. comm. 2012) has adapted the IFRAO scale design to create a more reliable calibration device that is properly colour-calibrated, printed on acid and lignin free archival matte media with an imported, hand-painted neutral grey pigment bar.

Whatever colour information is captured is summarized into colour-coded diagrams. Colour can be coded in partially mimetic fashion, but the code typically does not mimic the 'grey' values of the original parietal imagery (as black-and-white photography does; Figs 5.4, 5.5). Colour values are communicated through text (usually in the form of a caption or legend) and photographs are occasionally published alongside the diagrams, providing a better impression of the coloured appearance of the original (e.g. Frobenius 1931b: Tafeln 34-5, Parkington 2003: figs 105 (a)-(b), 107(a)-(b); Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: fig.2-3; Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: fig.37, pl.21; Challis et al. 2008: figs 7-10). Diagrams are sometimes described as "black and white" translations (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1981a: 33, 1996a: 38) but might more correctly be considered monochrome because lines are executed and published in one colour only (usually black) and the white colour of the paper functions for the most part as negative space, and only occasionally as an actual colour value (cf. Leibhammer 2009: 58).

The convention of translating colour into an arbitrary code goes back at least to the twenties in the study of southern African rock paintings (Figs 5.1, 2.2). It is a treatment that follows scientific drawing conventions where different patterns are used to reflect functionally discrete parts of the diagram without necessarily presenting any mimetic relationship between the chosen pattern and the appearance (other than the outline or silhouette) of the actual component. As I demonstrated through a study of the Sehonghong rainmaking scene (chapter 2), the monochrome coding tends to create further confusion in terms of line and field, and figure and ground, making it difficult for the viewer to imagine fully the original colour of the rock painting.

As a result of its absence from the diagrams, colour has not in recent decades been incorporated into scholarly interpretations of rock paintings. Leibhammer (2009: 57) suggests it has assumed a "secondary role … probably due to its unruly aspect." I would argue that it has become subservient to figural iconographic concerns, acknowledged only to enable the discernment of clear figurative entities, without being considered within and for itself. A recent compilation of new rock art research seems to confirm this general colourless interest, for, although richly illustrated, it was published entirely in black and white (Blundell et al. 2010a).

The preference for black-and-white images is of course also related to the economics of printing. Colour printing has become more affordable but is still more expensive than black-and-white, which is still the norm within archaeology journals.[12] If hard-copy versions are not published in colour, online versions sometimes are.[13] The predominance of monochrome illustrations within rock art scholarship is at one level related to the ease and clarity with which it is possible to reproduce colourless illustrations, but it is not purely a question of convenience. Tracings and the monochrome diagrams derived from them are understood to be an essential analytical step in the production of rock art knowledge (Lewis-Williams 1996a: 36), and regardless of specific contexts of choice or obligation, the fact that rock paintings are so often printed as monochrome diagrams powerfully influences our response to and ultimately our understanding of their function and meaning. The manner in which the painted figures are 'peeled' or 'lifted' from their canvas and turned into smooth projected shadows of themselves is well adapted to their treatment as something more akin to text.

[12] *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* and *World Archaeology* publish in black-and-white only. Other journals publish selectively in colour, such as *Southern African Humanities*, *Antiquity*, *Journal of African Archaeology* and *Journal of Archaeological Science*.

[13] e.g. *Time and Mind – The Journal of Archaeology, Consciousness and Culture*.

Where colour has played a more active part is in addressing questions of stylistic and chronological classification. A limited chromatic vocabulary filtered down from the study of the art of the European Palaeolithic (e.g. Graziosi 1960), carrying with it the terms "monochrome" and "polychrome" deriving originally from styles of architecture, sculpture and ceramics of the Classical world. These terms are essentially technological, reflecting the number of separate (usually flat) colours used in an artwork, in other words the number of different kinds of paint that were prepared for the creation of the imagery. In the study of southern African rock paintings they have been applied to individual figurative units, thus "monochrome" pertains to flat single-colour figures, "bichrome" to two-colour figures and "polychrome" to those comprising more than two colours (Willcox 1956: 44-5, 1963: 36; Pager 1971: 233). The latter term is often associated with the adjective "shaded", which denotes the deliberate blending into one another of different pigments, as opposed to unshaded, meaning applied in flat colours like silhouettes. The description of colour in accordance with these terms and the stylistic classification of rock paintings were, according to Willcox (1956: 44), virtually synonymous and he considered that the precise capture of the identity of each and every colour in a rock painting along the lines of the methodology recommended by Van Riet Lowe would be a hindrance to stylistic study, introducing "an infinity of sub-divisions into the classification of the paintings and [making] impossibly complex a study already complicated enough".

In a treatment analogous to the distinction of stratigraphic horizons in excavation archaeology, chromatic categories were used to characterize chronological evolutional sequences as well as regional stylistic groupings, a logic that also operated in the study of European Palaeolithic art (Graziosi 1960: 19). Breuil (1930: 218-21; Frobenius & Breuil 1931) proposed, as did others along similar lines (e.g. Van Riet Lowe c.1947, Battiss 1948: 65-98), a number of sequences from different sites based on the assumption that the paintings comprised a kind of palimpsest that could be decomposed into pictorial layers corresponding with temporal phases or "styles" distinct from one another in terms of colour, technique and subject matter. Pager also assumed figures to belong to the same group if they shared the same colour(s) (1971: 353-354) and Vinnicombe considered colour to be a subdivision of style (1967: 129). Others were unable to disentangle phases as layers stylistically defined in this way (e.g. Stow & Bleek 1930: xix; Willcox 1956: 58-62; Vinnicombe 2009: 131-3; Lewis-Williams 1981a: 23) and the complex sequences based on proposed stylistic variations eventually fell down under their own unwieldy weight (Davis 1990: 283). Willcox also found the complex style sequences unworkable, but still he felt that the general evolution of the paintings' development should follow

> the order one would expect, that is the monochromes first, then the bichromes, unshaded polychromes, and shaded polychromes in that order; but it is clear that the monochromes, especially the little red human figures, continued to be painted through all stages of development of the art (Willcox 1956: 61).

Davis observes that "stylistic classification and the stylistic history [in the study of southern African rock art has] assumed that image-making has internal rhythms of its own" (1990: 286; cf. Nettleton 1985: 51) where one can detect underlying organicist assumptions of rock art history in terms of a long-term pictorial evolution from simple to complex, primitive to classical, schematic to naturalistic, and ultimately progression to decadence, retrogression or degenerescence (e.g. Breuil 1930: 220; Van Riet Lowe c.1947; Willcox 1956: 61, 1963: 38-9; Pager 1971: 353; Woodhouse 1979: 24-5). This 'cultural ontogeny' model for the stylistic development of rock art was directly

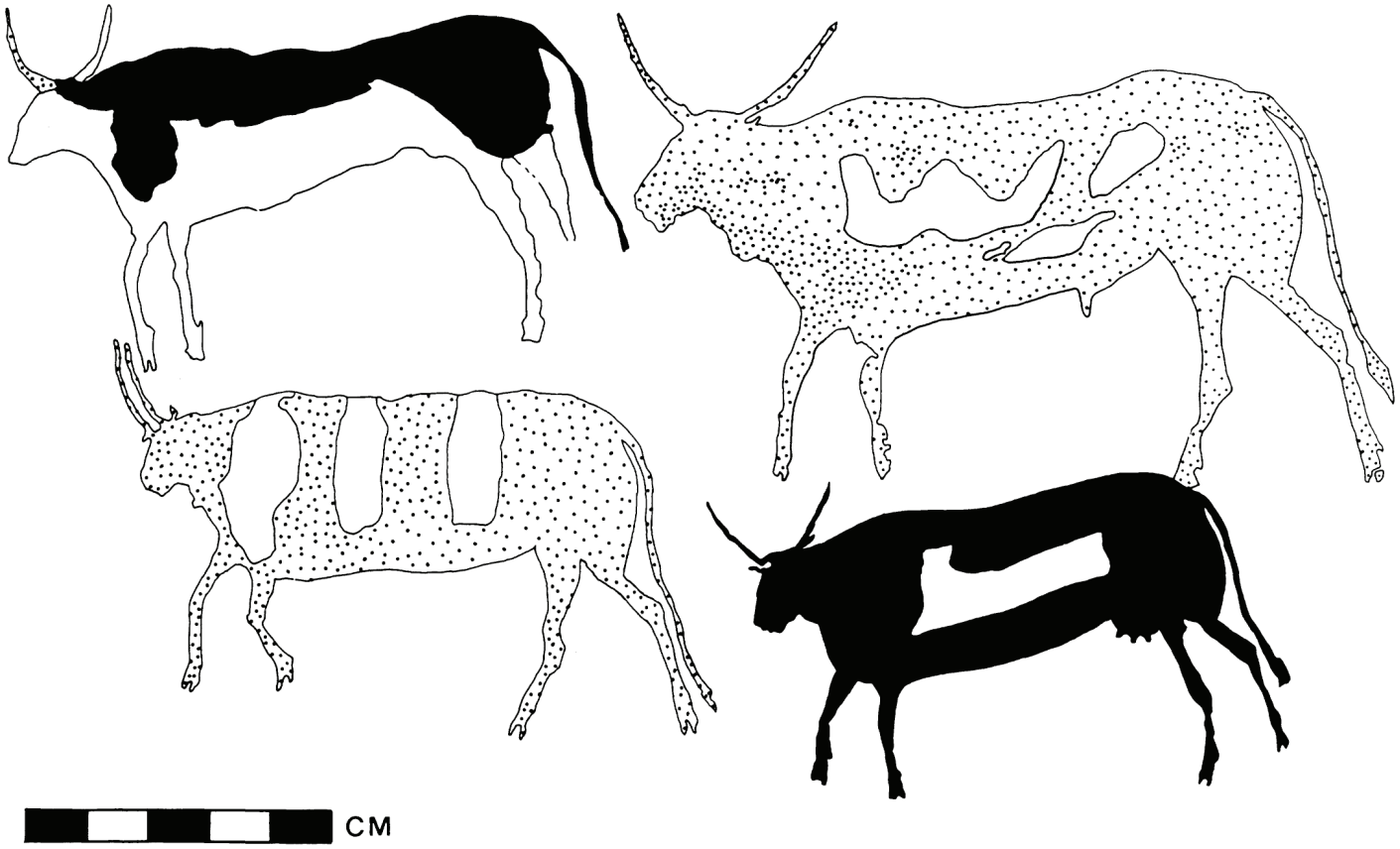


Fig. 7. Mpongweni, southern Natal Drakensberg. Part of a panel with many cattle. Colours, red, white and mottled blue-white.

Fig. 5.4. PARTIALLY MIMETIC COLOUR-CODE (Manhire et al. 1986: fig. 7; original caption included). White is represented as itself (although it is not distinguishable from the unpainted zones), mottled blue-white is represented as stippled and red is represented as black, which is darker than the other two colours.

Fig. 5.5. NON-MIMETIC COLOUR-CODE (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: fig. 3) illustrating an arbitrary relationship of actual colour to code value: white is represented by itself (but is not distinguishable from the unpainted zones) and yellow by low-density dots, which appears slightly darker than white, but black is represented by medium-density dots, therefore only slightly darker than yellow, dark red is represented by high-density dots, therefore paler than red which is represented by the darkest value, solid black. The calcite run, white in reality, is represented here by grey.

influenced by wider archaeological thought about the rise and fall of cultures as following a life cycle from formative stages to maturity to deterioration and finally collapse. More reflexive and circumspect research over the last three decades has generally steered away from what were considered "apparently reasonable" ideas of evolutionary development (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 23) or chronological classifications in (often three) overarching successive periods (Lewis-Williams 2002b: 7). It has in fact avoided questions of change over time and space more generally due to the challenge of attributing absolute as well as relative dates to the paintings (Blundell et al. 2010b: 3-5). Superposition has also been shown to be the result of the creation of meaning so an accumulation of images does not simply reflect changes over time (Lewis-Williams 1974; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009).

Yet a legacy of such evolutionary ideas of artistic development is perhaps detectable, if in a much subtler form, in the promotion of pictorial complexity as reflecting wider cultural or social efflorescence. The shaded polychrome figures of the Maloti-Drakensberg are considered the "climax and hallmark of San art" (Lewis-Williams 1985: 54), the "high point in the San hunter-gatherer artistic tradition" (Mazel 2009b: 85). The ongoing focus of mainstream rock art research on technically complex polychrome figures and panels show that these continue to be considered the culmination, however vaguely defined, of the development of the rock painting tradition. Figures portrayed in many colours of paint, often graded into one another, are considered to be more symbolically and aesthetically complex. A correlation is thus posited between the degree of unusualness and elaboration of images and the quantity of 'meaning' they contain, that is, they "carry more information for researchers than (apparently but actually far from) 'simple' images" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 43), and are used to postulate the meaning and function of less elaborate or unusual ones, for example the idea that all eland, even seemingly 'natural' ones, can be interpreted as bodily transformations (Lewis-Williams 2002b: 127). This is considered analogous to the archaeological excavator's preference for "rich sites in which to sink their trenches, for it is these that are rich in potential for increased understanding" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 43).

Another legacy of the style-based chronologies of the first half of the twentieth century is the chromatic terms on which they were based, which have remained ubiquitous in the literature. It has been suggested that the mono-/bi-/polychrome categorization may well be illusory (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 17) but clearly these terms remain part of a vocabulary that creates clear, standardized and manageable categories to facilitate a more structured study of the painted imagery. Researchers continue to employ these same categories defined according to colour, technique and subject matter refracted according to the law of superposition, although more circumspectly than in the old abandoned schemes, and new methodologies are enriching our understanding of change in the paintings over time (e.g. Mguni 1997; Russell 2000; Pearce 2002; Swart 2004; Mazel 2009a, 2009b). Indeed the teasing out of layers often dispels preconceived ideas and reveals surprising stratigraphic relationships. Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1989: 149) identify a kind of "factitious superpositioning" where the figure of a curled-up, sleeping eland was painted in two parts to either side of a "trance-buck" so that it would appear to be underneath it (**Fig. 5.3**). Although advances have been made, Humphreys' suggestion (1971: 86 quoted by Russell 2000: 60) that the study of the art remains "pre-stratigraphic" still rings largely true, and "until the art can be spread out through time and studied in this dimension rather than as a flat manifestation on shelter walls and rock surfaces its archaeological use will be severely limited". In this quote the time dimension is conceived in terms of how rock art studies might serve archaeology, but time-related issues also have the potential to improve our understanding of what stylistic variations may mean in a broader

context of image-making. This is perhaps one of the most fundamental hermeneutic dilemmas in the study of rock paintings: they constitute *pictures*—figurative elements placed pictorially in relation to one another across chosen surfaces—but at the same time they form *sequences* because they are comprised of layers that were placed meaningfully in relation to earlier pictures at unknown intervals.

From a more critical perspective, the "basic character" of style in rock art has not for a long time (if ever) been a central focus of rock art research (Davis 1990: 293-4; but see Nettleton 1985; Solomon 1996, 2011). It deserves re-examination, even more so because it is considered by some to be a "vexatious term" (Vinnicombe 1967: 129; Russell 2000: 61). While diagrams rely heavily on outlines and silhouettes, and colour is dealt with almost purely through a limited number of technical categories that indicate how it fills these silhouettes, in the rock paintings themselves we do not know to what extent the artists began with an outline, filling it in subsequently. Rock paintings seem more often to be formed through local colour shapes which are distinguished from the rock surface by deliberate colour selections. A close visual analysis of how the imagery was painted in terms of colour, shape and outline could lead to new points of entry into style.

COLOUR CONCEPTS AND PERCEPTS

While certainly simpler than the systematic determination of each and every colour, even the mono-/bi-/polychrome terminology is not as straightforward as it may at first seem. As earlier authors have pointed out, pigments may age differentially within one multiple-colour composition and certain colours may have faded or vanished completely while others survive (e.g. Vinnicombe 2009: 131). The coloured appearance of artefacts in the present has been modified by the passage of time in complicated ways and what is visible today should only very carefully be used to define past categories (cf. Jones & MacGregor 2002b: 2).

The naked eye cannot always detect what has faded, and, within what is visible, it cannot necessarily distinguish the stable individual colour identities needed to fix mono-/bi-/polychromatic categories. The term "polychrome" in its strict sense denotes the presence of 'more than two' distinct colours, and is often associated with "shaded" in a phrase that has been defined as the "intermingling of two or more adjacent colours" (Vinnicombe 1967: 129). The shading of red and white, for example, does create the impression of something more colourful than flat adjacent fields of these two colours; red and white mixed together do make pink, or, because reds in rock paintings contain yellow, the intermediate colour is often orange in appearance. But this example of two-tone colour-blending might more accurately be described as shaded bichrome. Alternatively the intermediate pink/orange could be considered a third colour in its own right (e.g. Vinnicombe 1967: 129) but this raises the issue of whether the colour terms used are intended to reflect the rock painters' colour categories, or whether they are conceived as descriptive and analytical tools for rock art historians and archaeologists. For example, specific terms for the colours pink and orange do not feature in one established lexicon of Bushman languages (Berlin & Kay 1991: 75),[14] but it is also true that the "naming of colour and the categorization of object colours need not be cognitively related" (Jones & MacGregor 2002b: 7).

[14] This is of course a secondary source and not the most authoritative on San languages, but it is one that deals with colour specifically across many languages. A more in-depth study of colour in San culture would necessitate an exploration of specialized linguistic work.

Today most rock art archaeologists would agree that one of their central objectives is to strive for an 'insider' understanding of the rock artists' culture (e.g. Parkington 1989: 13; Mguni 2004: 187). Words used to describe colour necessarily influence our understanding of the function and meaning of colour, and thus a case can be made to establish, using whatever tools are available to us, a colour terminology in 'insider' cultural terms. Berlin and Kay (1991: 75) classify the !Kung Bushman language in their "Stage IV" on a scale of at least six evolutionary stages of colour terminology. Stage IV sees the recognition of white and black (possibly as achromatic), and distinguishes three groups: reds (red, rust), greens (violet, blue, green) and yellows (orange, yellow, tan). There are numerous references to colours in the Bleek and Lloyd archives; I could not find orange or pink while I did find white, black, red, green, yellow, brown and blue. These colours were adjectives associated with a feature or object of the natural world (e.g. white star or red gemsbok) and must therefore be understood as rooted analogically in the physical world. Scholars of colour in rock paintings might begin with the notion that there exists a perceptual, and perhaps symbolic or causal relationship between certain objects that embody a similar colour or set of colours in the physical world. But, while it would be useful to interrogate the ethnography for what it says about colour, one must take cognisance of linguistic translations that always operate as we attach meaning to pictorial phenomena. As critics of Berlin and Kay's work observe (e.g. Wierzbicka 2008), their colour universals were posited through the medium of the English language when many aspects of colour are culturally and linguistically relative. More critical approaches to basic colour terms may to some extent accept that perceptual colour universals can be established, but conceptual ones will always remain more challenging.

To think about colour also blurs the boundary between content and form. Solomon (2011: 56) points out that the shaded effect created by blending colours into gradients is related to a desire to create depth, and in turn this should not be seen as unrelated to other perspectival effects such as foreshortening. So, while the mono-/bi-/polychromatic categories are certainly useful as a descriptive and analytical tool, on a more exigent level of pictorial analysis they present an over-simplification of the function of colour within rock paintings.

It would also be useful to explore relationships between paint colour and the natural colorations of the canvas. Most of the rock painting sites of the Maloti-Drakensberg region are concentrated in the sandstones of the 'Clarens formation', which comprise finely sorted grains that are basically whitish, with tints ranging from "ochre to rust" (Hoerlé et al. 2007: 539), including tan, yellowish-white, cream-coloured and pink. Sandstone landforms are widespread in South Africa, and this naturally pastel and porous type of rock is readily discoloured and darkened by numerous processes, a "wide assortment of sandstone surface phenomena" related to both its original geological formation and ongoing weathering, regional and patterned or small-scale and local in occurrence (Grab & Svensen 2011: 17). Geological figures, fractures and joints introduce numerous other colours into the matrix, for example greyish flinty structures (ibid.: 17) or bluish clay joints (Hoerlé et al. 2007: 539-40). The sandstone is oxidized to red hues in places which may be related to heating (Grab & Svensen 2011: 17). Water seepage causes staining through mineral leaching (e.g. calcite) and organic growths (e.g. lichen), leading to all colours of stains and crusts. In other words, the sandstone canvas presents many natural 'figures' of the same colours in which the painted imagery is depicted.

Scholars have demonstrated that the rock face was not a silent support and that the unpainted zones were meaningful (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 181), finding examples where "holes and inequalities in the rock surface may … have appeared to be entrances to tunnels leading to the spirit world" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990: 12). Here the incorporation of natural features is explained in figural iconographic terms using trance experience as a referent, i.e. a cleft in the rock is an opening or tunnel such as that seen during a shaman's hallucination. But issues around the scenic and pictorial role of these natural features still await in-depth analysis: how figures are formed by their colour and how colour creates form. Some painted figures do sit on the surface and appear dissociated from the rock beneath them, like a smooth skin that might be peeled off; but other figures are almost sculptural, completely embedded through both form and colour (**Plates 5.3**, **5.4**). Chromatic categories based purely on the paint applied onto the surface neglect an important relationship of paint to non-paint.

Paint was also a substance that needed to be manufactured and its ingredients physically extracted from the landscape, sometimes at great cost when, for example, it involved the blood of eland or a rare, sparkling haematite (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990: 14). It was evidently "more than prosaic colouring matter" (Lewis-Williams et al. 1993: 286) and as a result, "[p]igments … may have had significant associations for San other than those of colour", for example the choice of red in depictions of eland could indicate a relationship between the significance of the colour red and the subject eland in San thought (Yates & Manhire 1991: 9).[15] To search only for colour words and conceptual, analogical associations of colour in San painting would be to miss an essential point: the significance of colour would have also been deeply embedded in the substances used to create colour.

This brief exploration of colour has revealed two general ideas that subtly underlie much of contemporary rock art scholarship: colour enables formal iconographic elements to be distinguished but is not otherwise important for interpretation. Where colour is important is for discerning technical complexity: the greater the technical complexity of the image, gauged through the apparent colourfulness of pigments and the presence of colour blending, the greater the symbolic charge of that painting, and thus the most complex images are considered to be most redolent in meaning throughout the entire painting tradition. This situation allows scholars to avoid the issue of colour carrying its own material and conceptual significance.

The study of the role of colour in rock paintings, and of how to capture it effectively in copies, is a vast and largely untapped domain deserving of a more detailed analysis than it has received until now. In raising the issue of colour, one must nonetheless be wary of imposing a concept onto an artistic practice whose practitioners, while they skilfully deployed colour, did not think or compose their pictures in terms of our ideas of colour. As Wierzbicka (2008: 408) suggests, "it makes more sense to ask about the universals of *seeing* than any putative 'universals of colour'" (my emphasis). Colour, or whatever related concept might have existed, even in its putative conceptual absence, was related to the wider world in other meaningful ways. For the rock painters, colour undoubtedly did "channel and condense the significance of the spatiality of the inhabited world" (Jones & MacGregor 2002b: 10).

[15] Red is associated with heat, blood, danger and transformation in many Bantu cultures and may have been related to 'potency' for the San. This line of thought requires more attention that I can give it here.

Unlike traditional European easel paintings where a frame serves to separate the reality that is represented within it from the 'real' world where the viewer of the painting is located (and in a sense to separate the reality that is represented from its own reality), rock paintings employ no such boundary devices to mark the place where the picture ends and the world begins. They were also not conceived as finished works of art; they were created over time by different artists and could have continued to accumulate if the practice of rock painting had not ended (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42). They were and still are always changing, by intentional artistic addition or various processes of subtraction; mutability and impermanence are integral to the art.

Thomas Dowson (2009) challenges the idea that rock paintings were conceived or perceived by the members of the society that created them as distinct from the rest of the world on the grounds that the nature/culture dichotomy underpinning so much rock art research is a Cartesian divide. Similarly, Skotnes reminds us that in pre-colonial times the San lived outside the frame, and no matter how we might want to shift to an 'insider' view, we cannot escape the frames of our world:

> There is no way in which the copyist can avoid the artificial framing of his or her translation. There is no escape from the rectangle, the Albertian panoptic frame which, once it had rendered the world in terms of one-point perspective, irrevocably shifted the way in which we see and understand. … For the San in pre-colonial times, being in the landscape was to live outside the Albertian frame (2010: 24).

Yet there is also a certain contradiction in striving to discard all frames, because one needs to acknowledge that the rock paintings are distinct from the space around them in order to study them. Indeed, to argue that they are seamlessly integrated into that space is to some extent to "leave us without any understanding of why we were bothering to study [African art] objects at all, because if we study them as 'art', we have already categorised them according to a Western discourse" (Nettleton 2007: 31). Although a "seamless excerpt" (Elkins 1999: 193) embodies a contradiction, and an 'insider' view is out of our reach, Faris is nonetheless hopeful:

> Those who observe a particular culture from the outside can marvel at the content of its art, appreciate its style and form, but can rarely be the object of its practice. We can, however, with care give a reading from our own constituted subjectivity. If we are self-consciously aware of our position and explicit about our methods we can alternatively constitute the link between the element of form and the element of content in another culture's aesthetic manifestationsbut this should be recognized as a specific reading from another political view than that of the culture (1983: 90).

All modes of reproduction select certain images or groups out from a wider visual field according to certain principles and this has the effect of subordinating the non-frameability of the paintings to explanations based on units that are perceived as forming independent, internally coherent compositions. In order to place one's frames more consciously, it is essential to spend long hours in the presence of the actual paintings (cf. Lewis-Williams 1996a: 38). Of course, the "information contained in the smallest, simplest relic is infinite in extent" (Clegg 1983: 87) and time and resources are limited, so we will always rely heavily on the framed views that punctuate site documentation and are distilled into the literature. Our 'framing' of the paintings will also always be double: a physical frame placed around individual figures or groups corresponds with or feeds into an explanatory framework of interpretation. Rock art researchers express an awareness of the difficulty of studying this art from within a culture where the frame is so prevalent, but this understanding could be better translated into the way rock paintings are illustrated. While the idea

of shifting our gaze to view the paintings more as pictures and less as text arguably draws on an equally alien metaphor, I argue that it is still at its most basic level a call for a “return to the material world” (Boivin 2004: 64).

6

Towards pictorial analysis

VISUAL, TEXTUAL

I end with a new possible point of entry into the study of rock paintings. In this concluding section I outline the changing perspectives of the discipline of rock art archaeology, paying particular attention to the role of the verbal and visual within it in order to suggest how the study of rock paintings might benefit from pictorial analysis. Without claiming to compete with existing bodies of scholarship, I indicate a number of extant research directions that also incorporate several issues raised in more detail elsewhere in my thesis.

The central figural iconographic focus in rock art research has grown alongside a putative desire to understand the paintings in terms of a San world-view, but Davis (1996: 127) points to persisting problems of logocentrism, warning that "an archaeology of meaning that principally does iconography—the identification of the external source and reference of a symbolic form—without 'iconology', an examination of disjunctive sense and use, will remain logocentric". Similarly, some feel that the shamanistic framework can only provide us with "generalized and ahistorical understandings of the hunter-gatherer past" (Mazel 2011: 285), or, further, that it is constructed according to Western ontologies from which we need to escape in order to avoid "essentialist notions of hunter-gatherers that have prevailed thus far [producing] global schemes of understanding" (Dowson 2009: 385). This links to wider debates in the fields of history and archaeology around the creation of essentialized and timeless past cultural identities.

Ouzman (1998: 30) suggests that rock art interpretations "suffer from a visual and language bias" and that this tends to "close off less easily described research directions." I concur that other, less evident, levels of perception deserve attention, but I see an entanglement of the visual and the 'non-visual' —leaning towards the experiential, cognitive, tactile—realm. Moreover, the visual bias is far less marked than the language bias and is primarily established in relation to language. Because it has been relatively neglected, the fundamental pictorial nature of the paintings is a good place to start in order to weaken this perceived linguistic/visual bias.

The starting point for pictorial analysis has to be that paintings are first and foremost 'pictures', understood to be continuous visual fields whose various parts cannot be isolated without changing the meaning of the whole. True pictures are indivisible, but also inherently multiple in their possible interpretations, not only in a polysemic (linguistic) sense in terms of encoded verbal meanings (Lewis-Williams 1998), but because "the relation of language to painting is an infinite relation" (W.J.T. Mitchell 1994: 68). That the relation between writing and pictures is "infinite" does not mean that it is "indefinite or indeterminate or perhaps even quantitatively large: it isn't that there are fifty or fifty thousand "readings" (or "viewings")" of a given picture (ibid.). The infinity

exists because of the ideological divisions between visual and verbal expression where the task is not to multiply possible interpretations; it is "to stay as close as possible to both [language and vision]" (Foucault 1973: 10 quoted in W.J.T. Mitchell 1994: 64). This multiple yet tightly constrained view will complicate our understandings of the paintings' 'meaning(s)' and is a way to counter the irrelevance of single, logocentric or decontextualized truths. Indeed, a recognition of "alternative styles of being and manifold appearances undermines false assumptions about constant meanings and inherited roles" (Stafford 1997: 8).

The central emphasis on the symbolic and coded nature of rock paintings detracts from the idea that *all* pictures are metaphors and abstractions, even those with which an artist may intend a more literal depiction. To illustrate the treachery of pictures in this regard, Magritte painted a pipe that is not actually a pipe because it is a painting (*La trahison des images* 1928–29). In the same way, we use the term 'eland' to refer to both the painting and the actual animal. The naming of things and the cognitive distinction between things need not always be related, but to paint or to see or think an eland are nonetheless materially distinct activities. Moreover, despite the apparent straightforwardness of visual resemblance, there is nothing particularly direct or simple about depicting a three-dimensional subject on a flat plane (cf. Halverson 1987: 66, Stafford 1997: 7), or a plane that is at least notably flatter than the three-dimensional referent. To create an image that effectively communicates the appearance of a natural object to a viewer (informed as well as 'outsider'), the image-maker observes and translates a visual essence through the manipulation of another substance onto a selected surface. The figurative nature of San rock imagery—the fact that we can identify an image of an eland with a natural eland antelope, for example—is intimately tied in with, but at all times precedes, any other interpretive overlays that may come afterwards (cf. Manhire et al. 1985: 161-2).

This essential 'pictureness' is only superficially translated into the conventional reproductions that distil the paintings into diagrams and accompany research that deals with them in a primarily non-pictorial way, that is, as indexical signs that are given verbal and narrative equivalents. The fact that the interpretive study of rock art began with and continues to use copies in such a central manner means that they have played an essential role in the production of rock art knowledge. It may in fact be true to say that in rock art studies there has never been interpretation of rock paintings, only interpretation of copies of rock paintings (Skotnes pers. comm. 2009). The study of the copies themselves should therefore not be considered the domain of historically or visually minded archaeologists alone, because a deeper understanding of how rock paintings have been isolated, decontextualized and transformed for study could enable the detection of other, different layers of visual and experiential meaning, leading to a more contextual approach, and to new modes of reproduction that reflect these other levels.

With some of these challenges in mind, various authors have envisioned new directions for southern African rock art research (e.g. Davis 1984, 1985; Nettleton 1985; Solomon 1992, 1997a, 1997b, 2011; Skotnes 1994, 1996a; Ouzman 1998; Dowson 2007, 2009;). Yet, while several of these authors demonstrate an awareness of the paintings' pictoriality, several of the referenced works contain no illustrations, while others give preference to the convention of monochrome diagrams despite the fact that they discuss issues that fall outside of what this mode is capable of illustrating. The constraints of publication are of course a determining factor, but this phenomenon gives some indication on the one hand of the extent to which we discuss rock art in the absence of pictures, and on the other how naturalized the diagrammatic mode has become.

Van Riet Lowe and others working in the early days of professional archaeological research may have believed or hoped that rock art was a "representation of past realities awaiting recovery through diligent recording techniques" (Jones & MacGregor 2002b: 3). Decades later, Davis (1990: 286) concludes that the empirical programme of rock art study never achieved a standardization of terms for rock paintings as a kind of graphic representation, partly due to the intrinsic characteristics of the latter. Recent research has indeed steered away from an empiricist objective to attain "comprehensive documentation and 'neutral' analysis" (Lewis-Williams 1990b: 126), and, without denying that empirical observation is important, has drawn heavily from anthropology and ethnography in order to attribute verbal meanings to the paintings, with most emphasis placed on religious symbolism. Others have incorporated myths and beliefs in similarly ethnographically informed fashion (Solomon 1997a, 2008; Thackeray 2005; Hollmann 2007; Ouzman 2010b), or used rock paintings to read and write histories of resource use and technology (e.g. Manhire et al. 1985; Parkington 1989; Challis et al. 2008), social change (e.g. Mazel 2009b, Smith 2010) and ethnicity and authorship identity (Solomon 1996; Smith & Ouzman 2004; Challis 2008; Eastwood et al. 2010). In the last two decades or so, archaeologists worldwide have become interested in phenomenological approaches that address "the experiential nature of material culture … the embodied and performative character of past materialities … the senses in archaeological enquiry … [and] representation and visual communication" (Jones & MacGregor 2002b: 1), and these preoccupations are also visible within southern African rock art research (Skotnes 1994; Ouzman 1996, 1997, 2001; Solomon 1997b, 2011; Mazel 2011). One of Anne Solomon's interests lies in trajectories of image production, and she sees an opportunity in rock art research to produce "visual histories":

> A visual history is not an illustrated history, nor history derived from images rather than other sources; rather it concerns the histories of image-making itself, in which the images are at the centre of the enquiry. It is not iconography, in the sense of identifying subject matter and the social, political and economic contexts that frame its meanings (2011: 51, her emphasis).

She goes on to posit that while distinctions between form and content are often made, they are in fact "always related in some way or other; this is itself one aspect of how visual works 'work'" (ibid., her emphasis). Quoting Alfred Gell (1998: 214), she argues that "visual style" is an autonomous domain, because all artefacts are shaped in an "inter-artefactual" realm in relation to other similar artefacts, this dynamic being the central factor governing their visual appearance (2011: 57). Similarly, Nettleton (2007: 31, quoting Elkins 2006) suggests that the "most fruitful of possible futures" for the discipline of art history will need to favour "a discourse embedded in local concepts of the visual".

While, on one level and by its very definition, "all art history translates the visual into the verbal, the figural iconographic approach consciously [seeks] to conceptualise pictures as encoded texts to be deciphered by those cognisant of the culture as a whole in which they were produced" (Cosgrove & Daniels 1988: 2). It is, however, possible to talk more reflexively about pictures in words, if we acknowledge the gap between language and visuality, between discourse and representation, which might enable a "double vision, … a double voice, and a double relation between language and visual experience" (W.J.T. Mitchell 1994: 68). Some approaches are more cognisant of the non-verbal, visual and pictorial dimensions of image artefacts, not *what* they represent but *how* they do so:

> The richness and wealth of interrelationships which emerge [between different parts of a painted panorama] must be seen in the light of the ethnological data, they cannot and must not be used piecemeal to illustrate sections of the ethnology. The San artists who painted these works were probably ritual specialists, versed in the knowledge of San beliefs, but also and uncontestably, masters of the art not only of draftsmanship, but of the poetry of composition (Nettleton 1985: 58, her emphasis).

The realm of rock art studies is broad and will always pose a significant number of unresolved questions, answers to which might be found through a more visually astute scholarship that could explore beyond a symbolic sign-system. Some have questioned whether shamanism should continue to be the starting point and all-explanatory framework for the interpretation of the art (e.g. Dowson 2007, 2009; Le Quellec 2001, 2006; Solomon 2006, 2008), but there is little doubt that any new approach will need to accommodate the idea that the paintings draw from metaphors connected to a world-view in which relations between what we distinguish as 'ordinary' reality and the spirit realm are manifested. Dowson suggests that the separation between body and mind is a product of the Enlightenment whereas "[i]n hunter-gatherer world views supernatural forces circulate freely amongst constituents of the environment, human and non-human, animate and inanimate" (2009: 381). He considers problematic the notion that shamanism permeates all aspects of daily life in hunter-gatherer communities, and by extension their rock-painted representations, because it was rather the flow of life forces, or "supernatural potency" that held the San world together, which was not the sole preserve of shamans. But rather than challenging the existence of "shamans", Dowson suggests that what we should be doing to "move our interpretative endeavours along" is to rethink "how the shaman operates in indigenous ontologies alongside other people and their activities" (2008: 77).

Perhaps because many of us are imbued with such a clear dualism between the natural and supernatural we will always struggle to write about other world-views in adequate terms. But in lieu of characterizing rock representations in essentialist, external and dualistic terms as relatively literal depictions or symbols derived from a wider social and religious context, a more internal, intimate and materialistic view is also possible. Perhaps the imagery was drawn out of the inhabited world precisely in order to deal with fleeting and fluctuating (what we might call non-real) appearances, such as ideas, visions, imaginary images or even non-visual experiences, to render these more enduring, tangible and powerful (cf. Vinnicombe 2010: 242-243). This idea might further blur for us the boundary between the quotidian and the supernatural in the interpretive study of rock art. But if, as Dowson (2009: 380) suggests, "no one can deny the presence of graphic depictions of the trance experiences and beliefs of shamans", then we need to consider further questions around the ability of the painters to deliver images which constituted adequate, sometimes masterful, pictured equivalents for things seen in visions or trance after the event. We need to think more about the paintings' 'pictureness': how they came into existence through the painters' imagination and ability to externally visualize things for the contemplation of whomever the intended viewers of the painting process, performance, or products, were (cf. Davis 1996: 127, Solomon 2006: 211).

Two alternative interpretive positions that were formulated before the ethnographic breakthroughs of the 1970s can be summarized thus: art for art's sake and paintings as depictions of everyday life. These 'uninformed' positions have been discredited by the successes of the ethnographically informed shamanistic approach (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: 10-12) but their passing has obscured several ideas that could still be useful.

The first 'alternative' approach is the idea that the paintings were created for internal aesthetic reasons, the so-called "art for art's sake" argument. With regards to Palaeolithic art, John Halverson (1987) has argued for a rethinking of, if not "art for art" then the "representation for representation's sake" explanation. Particularly compelling is the notion that paintings may have had a more perceptual and self-referential, internally coherent significance than other more cognitively, symbolically and externally argued positions allow for. Nettleton (1984: 67) has also observed that, although a pure art for art's sake desire is unlikely to have motivated San painters, extended issues seen as related to this problematic phrase—concepts such as pleasure, beauty and decorativeness—constitute something of a red herring in the study of San art because the idea that the rock images were created with a view to manufacturing beautiful or attractive things (or whatever equivalent concept might have existed for the San) "would not exclude the possibility of the painting having a 'meaning' vested in its subject matter and the execution of the work itself i.e. its stylistic expression" (Nettleton 1985: 50).

The other discredited strain of explanation is the notion that the images represent a record of everyday life, something simple, literal or quotidian. While explanations of more complex panels that lend themselves well to elaborate trance-related interpretations have overwhelmingly demonstrated that metaphoric other-worldly subjects are an important feature, aptly warning us that things may not appear to be what they seem, this, once again, is premised on a problematized separation between the quotidian and the world of the spirits. Correspondingly, there is a neglect of other kinds of explanations and imagery, for example the more dull and drab ones (Francis 2009: 339; cf. Parkington 1989). Dowson also reaffirms the importance of the 'ordinary' lived material world comprising people other than the shaman and their activities (2008: 77). The fact that the paintings were created from within a society of individuals that shared a belief system around spiritual manifestations does not mean that the paintings did not also depict more purely prosaic subjects within day-to-day contexts.

From the earliest recordings, explorers or scholars of all interpretive standpoints have studied rock imagery highly selectively, focusing on the figures that they found most striking and that were considered as "self-sufficient wholes" (Davis 1990: 271). Certain figures or groups have been selected in a sufficiently repetitive fashion for them to achieve iconic status, a position from which they have influenced the interpretation of other figures. But the vast majority of the time, these icons are but small parts of panoramic panels populated by many other paintings and new research shows that the paintings and their sites are being approached more holistically and not just as collections of isolated images (Jeremy Hollmann pers. comm. 2009; cf. Nettleton 1985; Ouzman 1997; Solomon 1997a: 10; Mitchell 2002: 207; Challis et al. 2008; Hollmann & Crause 2011). One of the ways in which scholars have attempted to achieve a contextuality of meaning for the shamanic view framed by details of particular figures has been to engage with particular, unique manifestations of rock paintings in their wider landscape settings (e.g. Ouzman 1996, 1997, Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009, Mazel 2011). Studies are also increasingly exploring the paintings as a continuous field or panorama or composition (e.g. Pager 1971; Nettleton 1985; Ouzman 1997; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004b; Challis et al. 2008; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009; Lewis-Williams 2010).

The continuity of the painted imagery across the rock surface points further to its penetration into the depths and fabric of the rock. Features of the rock such as clefts, steps and other inequalities were incorporated as representational elements into the painted imagery, therefore the rock surface was not a silent or neutral support (Lewis-Williams 2002b: 148–9; Lewis-Williams &

Pearce 2004a: 179–81, 2009: 53–4). In symbolic analogy, the rock surface has been described as a ""painted veil" … suspended between this world and the world of spirit" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990: 15) but natural features of the rock also fulfilled scenic functions. Peter Mitchell (2002: 207) observes that the rainmaking scene at Sehonghong constitutes a "particularly striking example" of the physicality of the paintings, observing that the rain animals appear to "move to the left away from a slight fissure in the rock face through which water seeps after even a slight shower—making rain where the animals have already walked, as it were." Through the restoration of eBusingatha presented here, I discovered that a painting of an elliptical form surrounded by bees similar to one that has elsewhere been identified as a beehive (Guy 1972) was originally painted in a natural upward curvature in the rock, as if hanging upside down from the underside of an overhang (Plate 4.6.14). At Eland Cave, Hollmann (2007) describes a moth painting on the underside of a ledge imitating moths' natural behaviour and possibly placed there deliberately to be concealed from the casual viewer.

Rock painters also placed figures meaningfully in relation to older painted imagery (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009). Attempts to disentangle the paintings' layeredness (e.g. Mguni 1997; Russell 2000; Pearce 2002; Swart 2004) could lead to better understandings of regional and historical variation as well as principles of pictorial composition and renewal. Related to change over time and space, but not solely reflecting change, identity, tradition or regionality, neglected questions of style may be significant beyond their use in chronological sequences (Nettleton 1985; Solomon 1996, 2011). But a wider panoptic view will still need to be obtained, for "it is only through the function of surveys of large numbers of objects that a distillation of common stylistic traits can be achieved" (Nettleton 2007: 45). Stylistic analysis too will always belong to the "realm of categories [because] it does not touch on style as a bearer of meaning within the context of the usages of these [artefacts]" (ibid.: 43), but it could direct a deeper re-examination of the paintings.

Yates and Manhire (1991) suggest that the paintings were renewed and acted upon at different times, and note that the presence of non-figurative aspects in the application of paint, such as its deliberate smearing, smudging and smoothing, suggests that, instead of being passive pictures, the paintings invoked physical responses from viewers. Ouzman (1997) raises the issue of performance and the paintings as part of a spatial configuration through which people moved, shifting their gaze. At a larger scale, the paintings were part of a living landscape. Landscape approaches in rock art studies also remain peripheral, controversial or experimental (e.g. Deacon 1988; Solomon 1997b; Smith & Blundell 2004; Skotnes 2010)—perhaps this will remain a scale that is difficult to grasp in relation to rock paintings—but there is nevertheless growing consensus around the significance of spatiality and place.

Related to all these concerns, the question of the role of established ways of recording, visualization and illustration is one of the central themes of my research. In each individual kind of translation, something is gained, but a lot is lost. But oddly, the information contained in the copies can at times tell more about the originals than the broken originals themselves are capable of revealing to us in terms of how they have changed over time. The visual documentary archive is thus an extension of the rock paintings. Once we begin to interrogate the copies as proxies, the notion of pictures as subservient to a text-based field of enquiry begins to fade. Visual recording will continue to advance with available technology and "workers will doubtless devise new recording techniques informed by as yet undreamed of ways of studying the art" (Lewis-Williams 1990b: 127).

But recording is not only determined by technology: we can consciously choose to widen the frame of analysis.

Despite the fact that San rock paintings are so partially preserved and that the practice of painting is dead, so long as they remain visible they will continue to affect the lives of their viewers (Skotnes 1996a: 235). We must as far as possible endeavour to study them as 'wholes', where a 'whole' does not necessarily mean a self-contained and complete composition, but rather an unbounded one. In order to understand the copies, and in order to hover as close as possible in front of the originals, I have explored the re-positioning of removed pictures and pieces back into their first context. This process reaffirms the importance of the field beyond whichever frame has been used to create 'untethered' pictures. If the edge of the painted figure and the edge of the framed selection constitute a threshold of some kind, then this points to the importance of a kind of liminality, not spiritual or symbolic in the first instance but visual, physical, compositional and spatial.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE DIGITAL ERA

Several consequences of the digital era are already visible in the realm of rock art studies. One is the creation of digital versions of pre-digital documents, such as drawings, painted copies, sketches, slides and negatives, making them more accessible and, in some respects, permanent. The supposed permanence of digital archives is nevertheless questionable, because their long-term security over that of conventional archives is by no means certain. Digitization reduces the conservation risk of handling fragile materials, but at the same time to some extent sanitizes these, removing the full tactile and visceral experience of viewing the original copy. For instance, the scans of the Orpen watercolours provided to me by the South African National Library were cropped in such a way as to exclude the edges of the original sheets of paper (Plate 2.4). For my purposes, the frayed edges were important because I wanted to restore the four sheets to their original relationship. Something of the originals was lost in the scanning.

Another consequence closely related to accessibility is the centralization of increasing numbers of digital and digitized records into web-based databases, creating a pool of material that can be drawn from, rather than a set of isolated texts and images (e.g. SARADA, the digital Bleek and Lloyd archive). This allows for an unprecedented level of pictorial 'networking'. Almost half a century ago Patricia Vinnicombe (1966: 162) lamented that much of the valuable work of early copyists had fallen into oblivion through a lack of co-ordination. This pictorial networking capacity is a characteristic peculiar to the digital age and might go some way towards unifying disparate and fragmentary archival materials—recovering the archive, so to speak. But in some ways Vinnicombe's call for a "central repository of past and present work which could be readily available for reference, and where sites could be accurately plotted" (ibid.) is as pertinent today as it ever was. A relational digital repository such as SARADA represents a new kind of facility that has the potential to respond to this need.

But while the point of departure of traditional archaeological databases is to secure site identities and locations (insofar as possible), which are then linked to pictures and other derived materials, a digital image archive begins with a sea of pictures, not all of which are adequately provenanced and which must be pointed in the direction of sites, where these can be established. As a result, it will comprise many images that float somewhat ethereally over the landscape, only reaching its full potential once these are rooted in the ground.

Digitization has seen a huge increase in the numbers of pictures and pixels, but its effects are qualitative as well. A third consequence is the creation of different sorts of images created by new image-making capabilities and the malleability of digital material (e.g. Guy & Wintjes 2009; Le Quellec et al. 2009; Hollmann & Crause 2011; Wintjes 2011). These new sorts of images can help restore invisible or damaged rock paintings, or aspects of these, within the visible realm. Despite what appears to the unassisted eye as an absence or incompleteness in the original rock paintings, an applied study of the copies can enable a visualization of the originals. Just as they have the potential to obscure certain aspects, copies can also improve our knowledge of the original painting and our understanding of the copies is influenced in turn by the fact that the original once existed (or still exists in part). Some applications of digital visualization, Kevin Crause's CPED method for example, are geared towards resurrecting the disappearing and the disappeared—making virtually invisible paintings 'virtually' visible—that is to say, not physically existing but made apparent through digital enhancement or manipulation. Rock paintings that have faded or disappeared altogether may function as ghosts or spectres, and the argument that old pictures can be seen in new ways would support the case for detailed digital recording of sites, even those that are badly damaged.

But the advent of the digital era, despite its impressive qualities, is not an unequivocal advance over older image technologies. The increased accessibility and ease of digital photography has in many ways overtaken other modes of recording, compounding an already marked decrease in exploratory manual techniques such as freehand drawing, tracing and painting. And within photography, increased automation, even before the digital era, promotes a reduction of photographic skills. This thesis shows the research value of employing a variety of recording techniques, rather than relying on a single mode. New technologies never completely overtake or transcend earlier kinds of media; they engage in a dialectical relationship with them, as each new form has had to do in the past. What we nevertheless already see as new and specific to digitization is the rapidity with which it has developed and the particular way in which it interacts with traditional media, refashioning and 'repurposing' them—a process that Bolter and Grusin (2000) call 'remediation'. Remediation encompasses a number of ideas around the potential in the digital era to repair relationships and mediate between old images and new ones, to explore the role of images in history and to use images in new ways.

With these ideas in mind, we can revisit the idea of learning "from" the art rather than learning "about" it, a hermeneutic distinction that Ray Inskeep (1971: 101) formulated when ethnographically informed interpretations of rock art were still in their infancy; in his day, "learning about" meant attempting to determine the age of the paintings and the identity of the artists. In order to avoid the pitfalls of the notion that the art communicates something directly to its viewers independently of any knowledge of the culture within which it was produced, researchers have gone on to "learn about" at length, gaining insight into the "meaning of the art and its place in San society" (Lewis-Williams 1986: 171), but the form of the paintings is also a "site of meaning" (Skotnes 1994: 328). If to learn about involves reading and writing, to learn from might be to experience, to see, to visualize, and to emulate.

In the digital era, we may finally be able to move away from the single-point perspectival position, and to think about the visual continuity between these ancient artworks and our own virtually mediated, visually saturated world. It has been suggested that perspective may have met its end in the multiple windows that coexist on the computer screen (Friedberg 2006), but although

fractured, this view is still dominated by the frame. The deployment of ultra-high-resolution mosaic photographs constitutes a compelling departure from this framed visuality (Hollmann & Crause 2011) and new digital formats like this will no doubt have a significant impact on the way rock paintings are studied and visualized in the future.

THE INSTABILITY OF MEANING

Perhaps, like a "folktale [that] lives in the spoken performance but dies on the written page" (Ouzman 1998: 39), a rock painting dies when extracted from its context and transposed into a graphic copy. Similarly, Walter Benjamin argued that photography and the cinema revolutionized our visual perceptions, but that, for all their apparent realism, the mechanical picture lacked an essential quality—the living context, what he called the "aura" of the original:

> Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be (1936).

On the other hand, copies have the ability to amplify the impact of the original; they can be made more intense, more powerful, more convincing and life-like. Indeed, William J.T. Mitchell suggests that computer technology has overtaken Benjamin's ideas and that digitally enhanced and diffused images are so powerful that far from being poor copies of the original they can have a heightened reality:

> If aura means recovering the original vitality, literally, the 'breath' of life of the original, then the digital copy can come closer to looking and sounding like the original than the original itself (2005: 320).

Rock paintings, in constant translation, exemplify this history and paradox of image-making. Pre-digital, pre-mechanical, they have a unique existence in the world, as a tactile and pictorial expression, and as archaeological and archival material. Their first living context has been lost and their original forms are not fully retrievable, yet they continue to 'represent', to 'speak' and to 'mean'. In a digital after-life, they may be made more 'real', but also enhanced, sanitized, multiplied and amplified.

Intimate experience of the painted imagery in the landscape, not mediated by any copy, reveals dustier, messier pictures that are always changing, without a beginning or an end. They could never have been conceived of as fixed or isolated, and form an inextricable part of a harsh and uncontrolled environment. The implications of this instability make it problematic to attach absolutely stable appearances and meanings to the paintings, for, in the realm of interpretation, their "[m]eaning cannot rest or stay the same" (Vinnicombe 2010: 248).

maps

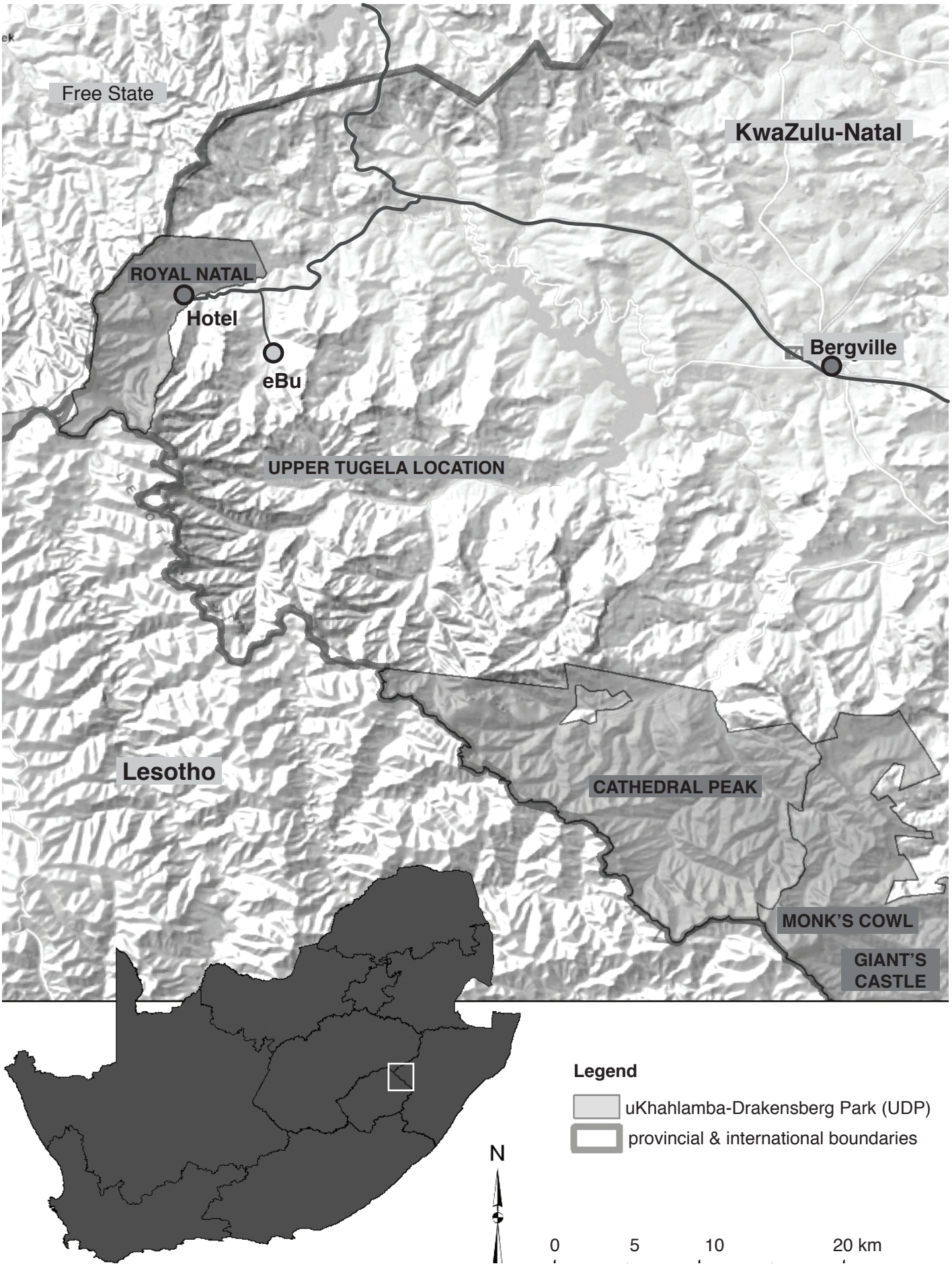
Map 1. THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG RESEARCH AREA
The striped zone corresponds with the massif over which Lesotho lies, surrounded by three South African provinces.

Map 2. SITES DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 1.2
The dotted lines approximate the expanding edges of the Cape Colony.

1. Heerenlogement Cave (16th c.)
2. Beutler (1752)
3. Swellengrebel (1776)
4. Gordon (1777)
5. Barrow (Oct. 1797)
6. Barrow (Dec. 1797)
7. Ezeljagdspoort (1835)
8. Baines (1849)
9. Baines (1850)

Map 3. SITES DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 1.3 AND BEYOND

10. Boundary Rock (1835)
11. Moncrieff (1863)
12. Stow (1867)
13. Sehonghong (1874)
14. Main Caves, Giant's Castle (1876-89, 1893)
15. Sangwana Shelter (1893)
16. Keilands (1913-14)
17. eBusingatha (c.1920)
18. Ararat



Map 4. LOCAL MAP OF EBUSINGATHA
Image: JW/ACT (2011).

annexes

Annex I. ITINERARY OUTLINE OF NATAL LEG OF 1928-30 FROBENIUS EXPEDITION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

The expedition lasted approximately twenty months (from about August 1928 to March 1930) and comprised nine members, Leo Frobenius, daughter Ruth Frobenius, three ethnographers Adolf Jensen, Albert Seekirchner and Heinz Wieschhoff, and four artists, Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Agnes (Susanne) Schulz, Maria Weyersberg and Joachim Lutz. The group split up at different times in different combinations to cover more ground. Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg completed the Natal leg.

Sources: Manuscripts LF 463 (Weyersberg 1929a), LF 464 (Weyersberg 1929a) for dates and other details of the journey; LF 476 (Schulz 1929) for the site list N.1. to N.11.; *Erythräa* (Frobenius 1931b: 48-53) for a summary of the expedition.

Date	**Activity**	**Place of accommodation**
?August 1928	Arrival of the expedition in Cape Town.	
September -December 1928	Travels and trial investigations in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Basutoland.	Farmhouse at “Eloffs Estate” six miles from Pretoria (research base)
Mon. 21/12/1928 to Thu. 17/01/1929	Christmas holidays in Pretoria (with Frobenius and others) during which they hold a small exhibition of their work visited by prominent figures such as Prime Minister Hertzog and General Jan Smuts.	“ “
Thu. 17/01/1929	Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg depart for Natal by train to Van Reenen (Frobenius and others head for Southern Rhodesia).	Van Reenen Hotel
Fri. 18/01/1929	Visit to a site near the Hotel (N.1.), traditional houses in the area and local Zulu inhabitants.	“ “
Sat. 19/01/1929	Probably the same activities as Friday and journey to Ladysmith in the afternoon.	Crown Hotel, Ladysmith
Sun. 20/01/1929	A day spent waiting for Monday (possibly because of the constraint of the railway-bus schedules).	“ “
Mon. 21/01/1929	Journey by railway-bus to the Natal National Park. Lunch-stop in Bergville. Arrive in the afternoon at the hostel where their host is Mr. Zunckel.	Natal National Park Hostel
Tue. 22/01/1929 to Thu. 24/01/1929	All three days possibly spent on the documentation of the Lower Sunday Falls Valley site (N.2.).	“ “
Fri. 25/01/1929	Documentation of the Sunday Falls River site (N.3.).	“ “
Sat. 26/01/1929	Rain day (no activities).	“ “
Sun. 27/01/1929	Rain day (no activities).	“ “
Mon. 28/01/1929	First journey on horseback to Lower Cinyati (N.4.).	“ “
Tue. 29/01/1929 to Sat. 02/02/1929	Day excursions from the hostel to continue the documentation of Lower Cinyati. Along the way, recording of traditional Zulu houses and dress, and purchase of beadwork and basketry. During this week, a possible alternative itinerary for Mannsfeld to document the Upper Mahai site (N.6.).	“ “

Sun. 03/02/1929	Last day at Cinyati. In the afternoon of 3 February, Weyersberg travels on her own to document Upper Cinyati (N.5.).	“ “
Mon. 04/02/1929	Departure by bus from Natal National Park. An extremely difficult journey in the rain, arrival in Bergville at 4am.	Upper Tugela Hotel, Bergville
Tue. 05/02/1929	Journey by bus to Ladysmith in the afternoon.	Crown Hotel, Ladysmith?
Wed. 06/02/1929	?	Crown Hotel, Ladysmith?
Thu. 07/02/1929	9:55 A day’s journey by train from Ladysmith to Loskop via Ennersdale. Fetched in Loskop by their host Mr. Martens and taken to the hostel.	Champagne Castle Hostel (aka Cathkin Peak Hostel)
Fri. 08/02/1929	Documentation of painted rock close to Champagne Castle Hostel (N.7.). Recording along the way of Zulu adornments.	“ “
Sat. 09/02/1929	Three-hour journey to document a large painted cave on the Farm Lekkerwater (N.8.).	“ “
Sun. 10/02/1929	Day off to finish work and prepare for a long hike to a large cave in search of better paintings.	“ “
Mon. 11/02/1929	Recording of Zulu houses in village nearest to the hostel.	“ “
Tue. 12/02/1929	Early departure by Schulz and Weyersberg for an 11-hour trip by horse to Ididima Cave (N.10.). A possible alternative itinerary for Mannsfeld to document sites on Farms Dingaan (N.9.) and Bellpark (N.11.).	Ididima Cave [Sebaaieni Shelter]
Wed. 13/02/1929	Documentation of Ididima Cave (continued).	“ “
Thu. 14/02/1929 to Mon. 18/02/1929	Further documentation of N.10 (continued) and journey back to the hostel.	Ididima Cave [Sebaaieni Shelter] / Champagne Castle Hostel
Tue. 19/02/1929	Departure from the hostel by car to Loskop train station and onward by train to Ladysmith.	Crown Hotel, Ladysmith?
Sun. 24/02/1929	Journey from Ladysmith to Harrismith; end of the Natal leg.	
Rest of 1929 to end of expedition	Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg continue recording rock art sites and aspects of living material culture in the Orange Free State and beyond (Transvaal, Cape Province, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa), joining up with the others and separating again in different combinations.	
23/07/1929 to 03/08/1929	Exhibition of some of the work at the meeting in South Africa (Cape Town /Johannesburg) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science	
March 1930	The expedition members reassemble in Cape Town and hold a final exhibition of their work before returning to Germany.	

Annex II. EBUSINGATHA'S DIFFERENT NAMES

Name	Date	Recorder(s)	Configuration of rock-shelter	Archive location
Lower Cingati	1923	Harry Wylde-Browne	Roughly as left behind by last San painters? Main panel (A) affected by flaking.	RARI, Museum Africa
Große Cinyati-Höhle	1929	Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Agnes Schulz, Maria Weyersberg	Similar to 1923	Frobenius Institute
Ebusingata	1945-47	Clarence Van Riet Lowe, Walter Battiss	River has shifted closer, stone walling has fallen down and there is more graffiti but the painted blocks are in the same position. Van Riet Lowe letters the painted panels A-F.	South African National Archives, RARI, Wits Archaeology Dept, KZNM
			In late 1946-early 1947 a removal team fractures and removes Panels B, D, E, and F, fundamentally modifying the configuration of the central space. Panel A (far right back wall) and C (under fallen rocks) remain behind.	
eBusingatha	1995	Janette Deacon, Aron Mazel, Len van Schalkwyk	Very roughly as it was left in 1947 (Panel A and C still present).	Private archives
			Ceiling and parts of the back wall collapse in the late-1990s so the central configuration is once again fundamentally changed.	
uMhwabane	2008	Jeremy Hollmann	Panel A (flaking) and C (buried) still present.	KwaZulu-Natal Museum
			Shelter has remained roughly the same since the late 1990s.	

Annex III. NATAL SITES VISITED BY THE FROBENIUS EXPEDITION

The Frobenius sites N.1 to N.11 matched with their current National Site Numbers.

Sources: Manuscripts LF 463 (Weyersberg 1929a), LF 464 (Weyersberg 1929a) for estimated numbers of days per site; LF 476 (Schulz 1929) for the site list N.1. to N.11 and site notes; Frobenius and Mannsfeld 1930 (p.138, 140, 142) for the catalogue numbers.

Frob. Site number	Frob. site name	Est. number of days spent at each site	Number of copies produced at each site	Frob. Kat. Nr.	National Site Number
N.1.	Van Reenen – below Hotel	<0.5	0	-	2829AD 006 (The White House)
N.2.	National Park – Unterer Sundayfälletal	3	9	660-668	2828DB 004 (Sigubudu 1)
N.3.	National Park – Sundayfallsriver	1	5	669-673	2828DB 055 (Sunday Falls 1)
N.4.	National Park – Unterer Cinyati	7	13	645-654, 656-658	2829CA 009 (eBusingatha)
N.5.	National Park – Oberer Cinyati	0.5	2	655, 659	2828DD 024 (Litshana 2)
N.6.	National Park – Oberer Mahai	0.5	1	674	2828DB 044 (Cascades Rock)
N.7.	Loskop – Stein beim Hostel	1	1	675	2929AB 015 (Martens Shelter)
N.8.	Loskop – Farm Lekkerwater	1	4	676-679	Unidentified
N.9.	Loskop – Farm Dingaan	1	2	680-681	2929AB 018 (Dingaans Cave)
N.10.	Loskop – Iditimagrotte	4	5	685-689	2929AB 023 (Sebaaieni Cave)
N.11	Loskop – Farm Bellpark	1	3	682-684	Unidentified
	TOTAL	20.5	45		

Annex IV. DOCUMENT: “INTERPRETATIONS”

By Frank S. Pardoe (c.1950; EKZNW).

ROYAL NATAL NATIONAL PARK : BUSHMAN PAINTINGS.

INTERPRETATIONS.

1. This scene is difficult to interpret. There are many Bushman figures equipped with bows, arrows and quivers, and a mythical animal in light brown.At the base of the block is a painting resembling a pallisade in red. There are also some arrows in flight and (to the right) a brown human figure running.

2. A and B formed adjoining portions of the rock wall. A series of white human figures, armed with bows and arrows underlies two brown and white eland and a brown and red running human figure, (bottom left). On the right is a mysterious figure in red and light pink with human legs and body and elephant’s trunk and tusks. He carries a bow and some unidentifiable objects and is surrounded by spots, perhaps bees.

3. Two paintings of eland, the Bushman’s favourite quarry.

4. A hunting scene. The herd of Pink and red buck have been driven to where the Bushman hunters lay in ambush. Now the hunters at the top and right loose their arrows. Note the bows and quivers of the Bushmen and some arrows in flight. This was a favourite hunting method of the Bushmen. The buck shown are probably Rooirhebuck. The yellow felines are of another period.

5. Shaded polychromes of small and large buck superimposed upon earlier yellow monochromes and human figures in red and white.

6. Many superimposed paintings including(to the left) human figures, probably Bantu, and some white cattle of the Bantu Period, and(to the right)a faded brown eland, a good brown and white feline and some red and white human and animal figures.

7. A polychrome eland with, below it, two stylised human figures.

8. A good red monochrome of a hartebeeste.

9. Two red human figures.

10. Paintings in light red and white of human figures facing each other in pairs, superimposed on an older scene depicting figures in yellow and a shaded polychrome eland.

11. Faded red human figures in various attitudes, some running.

12. A fine shaded polychrome eland and a smaller eland. Note the good detail of the larger animal especially the hooves. Below this eland is a red human figure carrying a bow in one hand and a bunch of arrows in the other. The arrow tips and the bow are over parts of the eland showing the hunter to be the later picture.

13/14. Various faded red figures of men and antelopes.

15. Part of a tall human figure in red and some thin white figures.

16. To the left in the centre of a ring of squatting figures is a masked polychrome figure carrying two club-like objects similar to those carried by the Elephant Man on stone 2 B. This is a ritual dance for some magical purpose and the squatting figures are clapping to the rhythm. To the right are various faded red and white figures. The white animal figure at the extreme right probably represents a bush pig. The snout of the animal is on stone 19, which continues the scene to the right.

17. Little remains visible on this stone except a red human figure with white touches on the head and neck.

18. A fine group of bichrome and polychrome cattle painted of course after the arrival of the Bantu. Older paintings on the stone are little red running men and the light brown animals. Of uncertain relative age are the small grey animals and the human figure on the right. The grey animal figure at the bottom (right centre) seems to be an attempt, not very successful, to paint a hippopotamus.

19. An interesting polychrome procession of hunters returning from the chase. The foremost carries the kill (an antelope) over his shoulder. The picture is painted in unusual detail and clearly shows the weapons and dress of the hunters. Note the karosses they wear and the long bows, arrows and large quivers they carry.Superimposed upon the scene are paintings of cattle in white. At the base of the block is a crouching figure armed with a bow and arrow facing a red feline (probably a leopard) and behind this is an animal in pink of indeterminate species.

20/21. Various small red paintings of human figures. It is not clear what the scene in 21 represents.

22. Two polychrome eland in dark brown, orange-brown and white; part of a red animal and a white cow. The sequence of the superpositions – eland over cow over red animal shows that the polychrome eland were painted after the arrival of the Bantu with those cattle.

23. Very faded red and orange human and animal figures.

Nos. 1-14. Behind Glass.

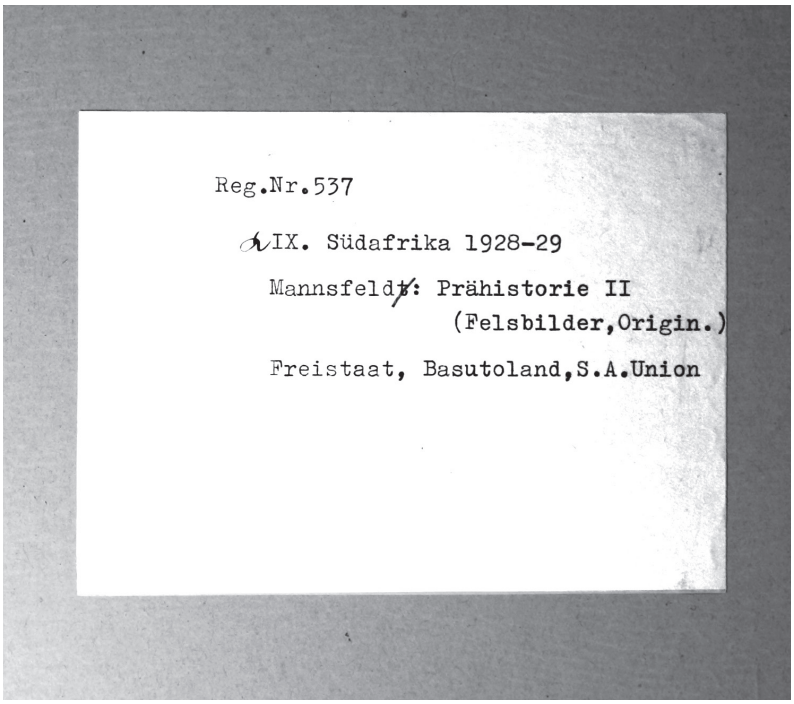
" 15-18. On Floor – (left).

" 19-23. " " - (right).

Annex V. NUMBERING OF THE EBUSINGATA STONES

Display numbers listed in **Annex IV** matched with KZNM accession numbers

	RNNP Display no. (on rock)	Still visible	Where displayed	Post-1964 KZNM accession no.	Post-1991 KZNM accession no.	Comments
1	2B	Y	behind glass	?A28	A162	A162 and A173 were displayed together
2	3	Y	behind glass	A42	A163a	A163a and b were displayed together
3	3		behind glass	A42	A163b	A163a and b were displayed together
4	9	Y	behind glass	A40	A164	
5	?13		behind glass	A34	A165	Faded number 13 or 14?
6	7	Y	behind glass	A38	A166	The "two stylised human figures" below eland no longer visible
7	1	Y	behind glass	A39	A167	A167 and A171 were displayed together
8	16		on floor to left	A31	A168	A168 and A551 were displayed together
9	?15	Y	on floor to left	A35	A169	Smudged blue markings, uncertain it was a display number
10	20	Y	on floor to right	A30	A170	
11	1		behind glass	A41	A171	A167 and A171 were displayed together
12	11	Y	behind glass	A33	A172	Number very faint
13	2A	Y	behind glass	A29	A173	
14	12		behind glass	A37	A174	A546 and A174 were displayed together
15	18		on floor to left	A32	A175a	A175a, b and c were displayed together
16	18		on floor to left	A32	A175b	A175a, b and c were displayed together
17	18	Y	on floor to left	A32	A175c	A175a, b and c were displayed together
18	8	Y	behind glass	A36	A176	
19	5	Y	behind glass	.	A544	
20	6		behind glass	.	A545a	A545a and A545b were displayed together
21	6	Y	behind glass	.	A545b	A545a and A545b were displayed together
22	12	Y	behind glass	.	A546	A546 and A174 were displayed together
23	22		on floor to right	.	A547	A547 and A552 were displayed together
24	19		on floor to right	.	A548	A548 and A550 were displayed together.
25	10		behind glass	.	A549	
26	19		on floor to right	.	A550	A548 and A550 were displayed together
27	16	Y	on floor to left	.	A551	A168 and A551 were displayed together
28	22	Y	on floor to right	.	A552	A547 and A552 were displayed together
29	21	Y	on floor to right	.	A553a	
30	21		on floor to right	.	A553b	
31	?17		on floor to left	.	A558	Paintings no longer visible
32	?14		behind glass	.	A559	Faded number 13 or 14?
33	4		behind glass	.	none	Stolen in 1951?



LF 476 (Alte Reg. Nr. 537)

α IX Südafrika 1928/30.

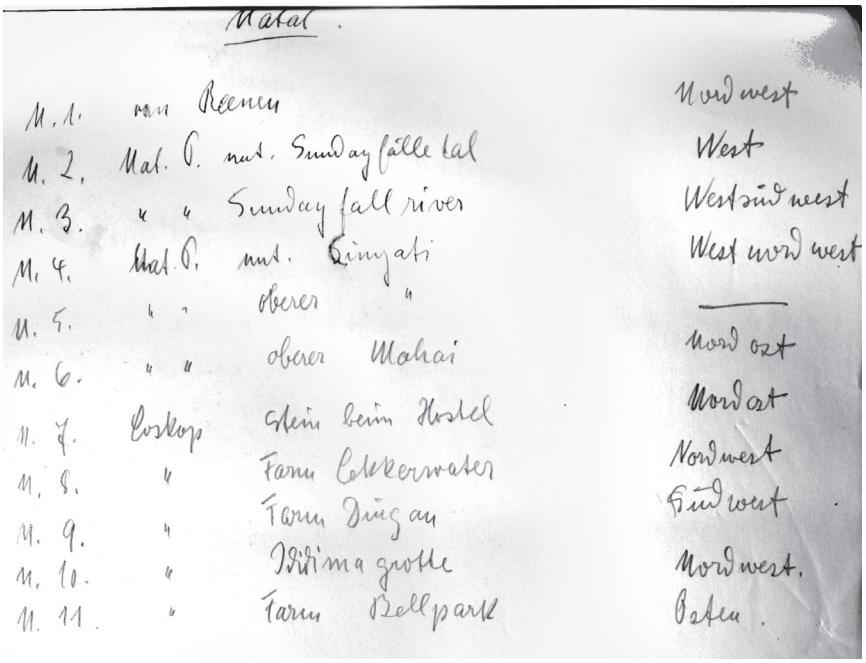
Mannsfeld: Prähistorie II (Felsbilder, Origin.)

Freistaat, Basutoland, S.A.Union.

DESCRIPTION: This notebook is a compilation of notes on rock art sites in different geographically defined sections separated by loose interleaved sheets of folded paper. The author of the notebook is listed as Mannsfeld but it is in reality a compilation of documents written by different individuals.

The second from last section describes the rock painting sites documented in Natal and includes passages in the handwriting of all three expedition members present on this leg: Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg. It comprises 32 pages (numbered here 1-32). The first page is the list of Natal sites (N.1 to N.11). Schulz took down notes on Lower Cinyati (pp. 7-14; site N.4) and Weyersberg recorded Upper Cinyati (pp. 15-18; site N.5; see Annex IX).

The text is written in abbreviated note-like language. My insertions (for completeness or clarity) are in square brackets. Question-marks replace or precede words that it was not possible to transcribe or translate, and frame passages of which the transcription or translation is uncertain. In places I have added punctuation where it clarifies meaning. I have completed abbreviated forms in square brackets in the original text and written them out in full in the translation.



Natal

N.1. van Reenen Nordwest

N.2. Nat.[-ional] P.[ark] unt.[erer] Sundayfälletal West

N.3. ″ ″ Sundayfallsriver Westsüdwest

N.4. Nat.[-ional] P.[ark] unt.[erer] Cinyati Westnordwest

N.5. ″ ″ oberer Cinyati -------

N.6. ″ ″ oberer Mahai Nordost

N.7. Loskop stein beim Hostel Nordost

N.8. ″ Farm Lekkerwater Nordwest

N.9. ″ Farm Dingan Südwest

N.10. ″ Iditimagrotte Nordwest

N.11. ″ Farm Bellpark Osten

Natal

N.1. Van Reenen North-west

N.2. Nat.[-ional] P.[ark] Lower Sunday Falls Valley West

N.3. ″ ″ Sunday Falls River West-south-west

N.4. Nat.[-ional] P.[ark] Lower Cinyati West-north-west

N.5. ″ ″ Upper Cinyati -------

N.6. ″ ″ Upper Mahai North-east

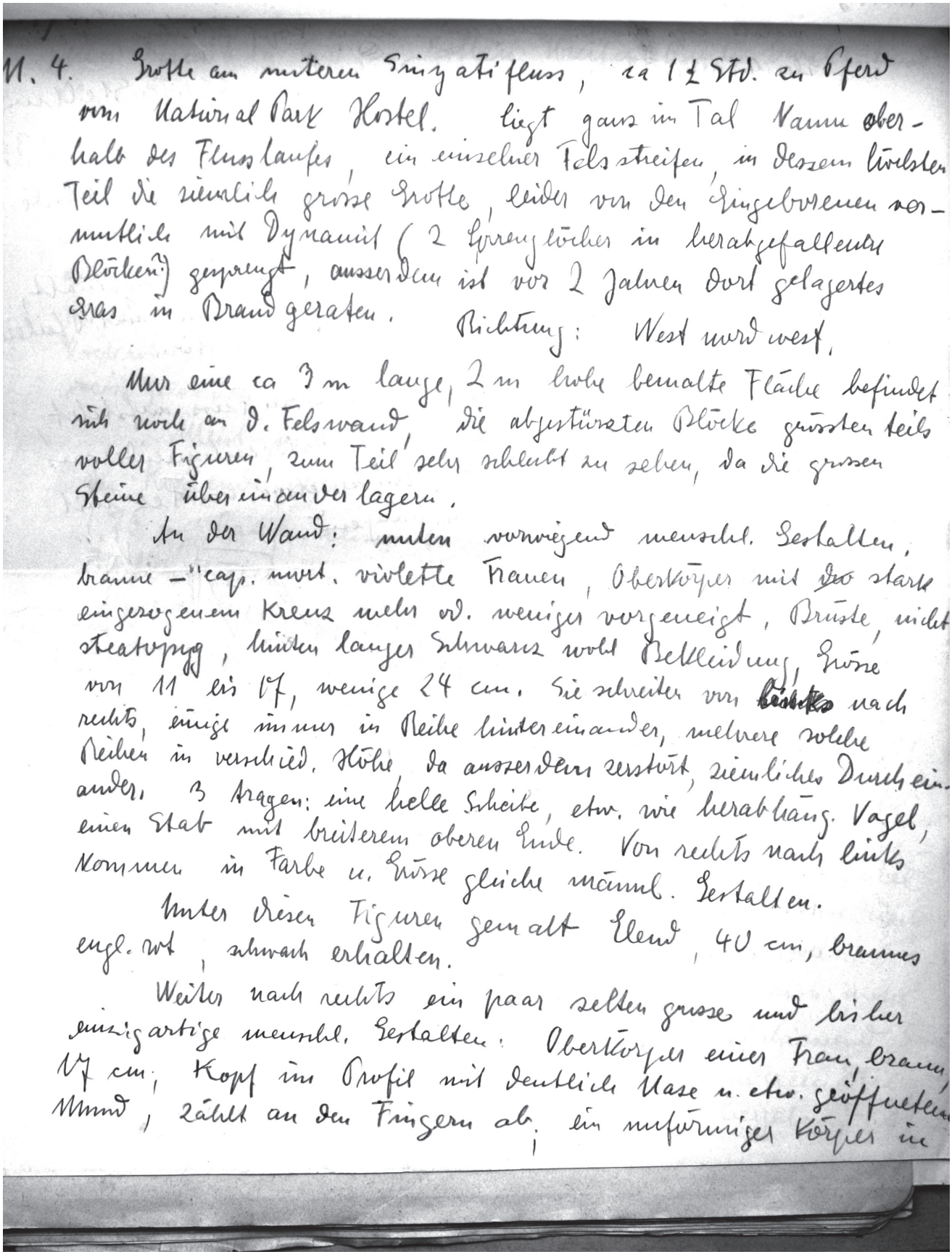
N.7. Loskop rock close to Hostel North-east

N.8. ″ Farm Lekkerwater North-west

N.9. ″ Farm Dingaan South-west

N.10. ″ Didima Cave North-west

N.11. ″ Farm Bellpark East



11. 4. Grotte am mittleren Sinyati fluss, ca 1½ Std. zu Pferd vom Natural Park Hostel. liegt ganz im Tal kann oberhalb des Flusslaufes, ein einzelner Felsstreifen, in dessen linkesten Teil die ziemlich grosse Grotte, leider von den Eingeborenen vermutlich mit Dynamit (2 Sprenglöcher in herabgefallenen Blöcken?) gesprengt, ausserdem ist vor 2 Jahren dort gelagertes Gras in Brand geraten. Richtung: West nord west.

Nur eine ca 3 m lange, 2 m hohe bemalte Fläche befindet sich noch an d. Felswand, die abgestürzten Blöcke grösstenteils voller Figuren, zum Teil sehr schwierig zu sehen, da die grossen Steine übereinander lagern.

An der Wand: meist vorwiegend menschl. Gestalten, braune – "cap. mort. violette Frauen, Oberkörper mit ~~der~~ stark eingezogenem Kreuz mehr od. weniger vorgeneigt, Brüste, nicht steatopyg, hinten langer schwarz wohl Bekleidung, Grösse von 11 bis 17, wenige 24 cm. Sie schreiten von ~~links~~ nach rechts, einige immer in Reihe hintereinander, mehrere solche Reihen in verschied. Höhe da ausserdem zerstört, ziemliches Durcheinander. 3 Tragen: eine helle Scheibe, etw. wie herabhäng. Vogel, einen Stab mit breiterem oberen Ende. Von rechts nach links kommen in Farbe u. Grösse gleiche männl. Gestalten.

Unter diesen Figuren gemalt Elend, 40 cm, braunes engl. rot, schwach erhalten.

Weiter nach rechts ein paar selten grosse und bisher einzigartige menschl. Gestalten: Oberkörper einer Frau, braun, 17 cm; Kopf im Profil mit deutlich Nase u. etw. geöffnetem Mund, zählt an den Fingern ab, ein nufürmiger Körper in

N. 4. Grotte am unteren Sinyatifluss, ca 1 ½ std. zu pferd vom National Park Hostel. liegt ganz im Tal kaum oberhalb des Flusslaufes, eine einselner Felsstreifen, in dessem höchsten Teil die ziemlich grosse Grotte, leider von den Eingeborenen vermutlich mit Dynamit (2 Sprenglöcher in herabgefallenen Blöcken?) gesprengt, ausserdem ist vor 2 jahren dort gelagertes gras in Brand geraten. Richtung: West nord west.

Nur eine *ca.* 3m lange, 2 m hohe bemalte Fläche befindet sich noch an d.[-er] Felswand **[FIRST PANEL]**, die abgestürzten Blöcke grösstenteils voller Figuren **[SECOND TO SIXTH PANELS]**, zum Teil sehr schlecht zu sehen, da die grossen Steine übereinander lagern.

[FIRST PANEL] [Kat. Nr. 656] An der wand: unten vorwiegend menschl.[-iche] Gestalten, braune – *cap.[-ut] mort.[-um]* violette Frauen, oberkörper mit stark eingezogenem Kreuz mehr od.[oder] weniger vorgeneigt, Brüste, ?nicht steatopyg, hinten langer schwanz wohl Bekleidung, Grösse von 11 bis 17, wenige 24 cm. Sie schreiten von links nach rechts, einige immer in Reihe hintereinander, mehrere solche Reihen in verschied.[-ener] Höhe da ausserdem zerstört, ziemliches Durch einander. 3 tragen: eine helle scheibe, etw.[-as] wie herabhäng.[-en] vogel, einen Stab mit breiterem oberen Ende. Von rechts nach links kommen in Farbe u.[-nd] Grösse gleiche männl.[-iche] Gestalten.

Unter diesem Figuren gemalt Eland, 40 cm, braunes engl.[-isches] rot, schwach erhalten.

Weiter nach rechts ein paar selten grosse und bisher einzigartige menschl.[-iche] Gestalten: Oberkörper einer Frau, braun, 17 cm, Kopf im Profil mit deutlich Nase u.[-nd] etw.[-as] geöffnetem mund, zählt an den Fingern ab; ein unförmiger Körper in [...]

N.4. A cave on the upper Sinyati River, about 1.5h by horse from the National Park Hostel. [It] lies deep in the valley only just above the river course, a single band of rock, in the highest part of the fairly large cave[.] Sadly blasted with dynamite (there are two blasting holes in fallen-down blocks?), presumably by the natives, and also two years ago stored grass caught fire [here]. Direction: west-north-west.

Only one *ca.* 3m long, 2m high painted surface is still attached to the rock wall **[FIRST PANEL]**, the fallen-down blocks **[SECOND TO SIXTH PANELS]** are for the most part full of figures, sometimes very difficult to see because of the large stones stacked one on top of the other.

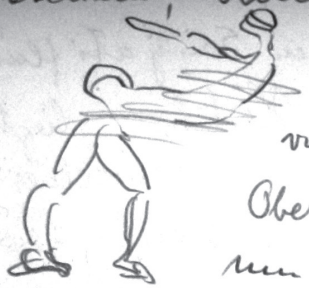
[FIRST PANEL] [Cat. No. 656] Against the wall: predominantly human figures along the bottom, women in brown to *caput mortum*[1] purple, upper body with an exaggerated [concave] curve in their lower backs, more or less leaning forward, breasts, ?not steatopygous, a long tail at the back, probably clothing, [ranging in] size from 11 to 17, a few 24cm. They walk from left to right, some in successive rows, several such rows at different heights and also damaged, several overlapping with one another. 3 carry: a pale disk, something that looks like a hanging bird, a staff with a broader top end. From right to left are male figures in the same colour and size.

Underneath these figures, painted eland, 40cm, brown[,] English red, becoming faded.

Further along to the right several large and unusual human figures of a kind not seen before: a woman's torso, brown, 17cm, head in profile with distinct nose and slightly open mouth, counting down on her fingers; a shapeless body in [...]

[1] A colour belonging to the Red Iron Oxide family (Weber 1923: 64); a deep purplish-red brown pigment.

violett cp. mort. stehend, ohne Kopf u. Füße, 42 cm,
gleichfarbig Frau



in verdrehter Stellung,
viel zerstört, Beine 23,
Oberkörper 22 cm, Binde
um die Augen,

Diese gr. Gestalten ebenfalls über Reste von Gemälde gemalt,
Ein 47 cm langer die Frau über englrosem Laufenden, 18 cm, mit Pfeilen,
weißes Band um die Stirn
brauner Mann stehend,
Bogen in der Hand, der auf neben seinem Fuß aufsteht,
mehrere hellere Streifen als Gürtel Halsgeschmeide aus
Punkten u. Linien, kleine Mütze etwa wie Fez mit
roter Troddel über die Stirn hängend.
Noch weiter rechts ein Mann

in braun, 19 cm bis Knie, Unter-
schenkel fehlen, Mund u. Auge in
weiß, auf merkwürdig nach hinten ge-
recktem Arm (Ula erinnert solche Stellung
nur bei einem Baruda) unklaren hellen Gegenstand
mit 2 dunklen Streifen. Darübergemalt 3 Böcke, 1
gewöhnlich stehend, 1 liegend, 1 von hinten gesehen, Verkür-
zungen u. Stellung aber nicht sehr gut dargestellt.
Reste von Tierfüßern in ockerigem engl. rot, 25 u. 13 cm
oberhalb, nicht überschnitten.

violett *cap.[-ut] mort.[-um]* stehend, ohne Kopf u.[-nd] Füsse, 42 cm, Gleichfarbig Frau [Bild] in verdrehter Stellung, viel zerstört, Beine 23, Oberköper 22 cm, Binde um die Augen.

Diese gr.[-ossen] Gestalten ebenfalls über Reste von Eland gemalt, die Frau über engl.[-ischen] rotern Laufenden, 18 cm, mit Pfeilen, weisses Band um die Stirn.

Ein 47 cm langer brauner Mann stehend, Bogen in der Hand, der auf neben seinem Fuss aufsteht, mehrere hellere Streifen als Gürtel, Halsgeschmeide aus Punkten u.[-nd] linien, Kleine mütze[mutze] etwa wie Fez mit roten Troddel über die Stirn hängend.

Noch weiter rechts ein Mann in braun, 19 cm bis Knie, unterschenkel fehlen, mund u.[-nd] Auge in weiss, auf merkwürdig nach hinten gereckten Arm (wer erinnert solche Stellung uns bei einem Garuda) unklaren hellen Gegenstand mit 2 dunkeln Streifen. Darübergemalt 3 Böcke, 1 gewölmlich stehend, 1 liegend, 1 von hinten gesehen, Verkürzungen u.[-nd] Stellung aber nicht sehr gut dargestellt.

Reste von Eland Tierkörpern in ockerigem engl.rot, 25 cm. 13 cm oberhalb, nicht überschnitten.

caput mortum purple standing, without head or feet, 42cm, similarly coloured woman [sketch] in a twisted posture, much deteriorated, legs 23, torso 22cm, blindfolded.

These large figures [are] also painted over the remains of eland, the woman over a running figure in English red,[2] 18cm, with arrows, white band around the forehead.

A 47cm tall brown man standing, bow in hand, stepping one foot out in front of the other, several bands of lighter colour in lieu of a belt, necklace of dots and lines, small cap [looking] something like a fez with red tassels hanging down in front of the forehead.

Still further to the right a man in brown, 19cm to his knees, legs missing, mouth and eyes in white, [with a] bright indistinct object with two dark stripes [resting] on a curious backward stretched arm (that reminds us of the posture of a Garuda[3]). Painted underneath are three buck, one in the usual standing position, one lying down, one viewed from the rear, foreshortening and posture however not very well represented.

Remains of eland animal bodies in English red ochre, 25cm. 13cm higher up, not overlapping.

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[2] A colour belonging to the Vermilion family (Weber 1923: 117); a variety of bright red.

[3] A hybrid bird-human figure from Hindu and Buddhist mythology, in one of its variations shown with arms held up at right angles with upturned hands like the posture of a waitor carrying a tray.

Über diesen ca 60 cm hohen Kreisen durch durchgehend Abgebröckeltes getrennt:

ca 1,20 m hohes Stück mit Elend u. Böcken (Durchschn. 35 cm u. 25 cm) teils grasend, ein Raubtier äsend. Letzt dazwischen 21 cm in ocker mit schwarzen Flecken (ob die gemalt, ist unklar); die anderen Tiere schattieren in cap. mort, engl. rot, braun, ocker, an einem Körper Farben durcheinander, Flecken von krapplackart stellenweise. Rückenlinie u. Hörner schwarz, das weiss geworden ist zum grössten Teil.

Meist nicht überschnitten zwischen den Tieren, doch am Kopfende über 2 Böcke gemalt grosse Schlange, ca 1,70 m lang, weisse Bauch, schwärzlich bräunlicher Rücken, obere Kontur doppelte Reihe weisser Pünktchen. Merkwürdiger Kopf (15 cm) oben dunkle Linie, ob etwas so angegeben, in dem fleckigen Weiss nicht ganz sicher. Über die Schlange gemalt rote Gestalten 23 cm mit Waffen, Schmuck u. einer helmartiger Kopfputz, ein anderer Stelle in gleichem Stil, - alle haben helle Kontur - 2 sich gegenüberstehende, der eine mit weissem Mantel. Hinter diesen ein Stehender gleicher Art, beide ohne nach hinten, die unklares halten, Klammer am Phallus. Unter diesen besond. gut ausgeführten Figuren u. auch unter der Elend gemalt kleine rote Figuren, Bogenschiessend 5 cm in gleicher Farbe, mübersch mitten, wieder anderem Stil Mann u. Frau, etw. steatopyg, einander hergebend, 11 cm

Über diesem *ca.* 60 cm hohen Streifen durch durchgehend Abgebröckeltes getrennt.

[Kat. Nr. 646] *ca.* 1,20 m hohes Stück mit Eland u.[-nd] Böcken (durchgehend 35 cm u.[-nd] 25 cm) teils grasend, ein Raubtier ähnl.[-ichen] Getier daswischen 21 cm in ocker mit schwarzen Flecken (ob die gemalt, ist unklar); die anderen Tiere schattieren in *cap.[-ut] mort.[-um]*, engl.[isch]rot, braun, ocker, an einem Körper Farben durcheinander, Flecken von Krapplackrot stellenweise. Ruckenlinie u.[-nd] Hörner schwarz, das weiss geworden ist zum grössten Teil.

Meist nicht überschnitten zwischen den Tieren, doch am Kopfende über 2 Böcke gemalt grosse Schlange, *ca.* 1,70 m lang, weisser Bauch, schwärzlich bräunlicher Rücken, obere Kontur doppelte Reihe weisser Pünktchen. Merkwürdiger Kopf [Skizze] 15 cm oben dunkel linie, ob Auge so angegeben in dem fleckigen Weiss nicht ganz sicher. Ueber die Schlange gemalt rote Gestalten, 23 cm mit Waffen, Schmuck u. einer helmartiger Kopfputz. An anderer Stelle in gleichem Stil, alle haben helle Kontur, 2 sich Gegenübersitzende, der eine mit weissem Mantel. Hinter diesen ein Stehender gleicher Art, beide Arme nach hintern, die unklares halten, Klammer am Phallus. Unter diesen besond.[-ers] gut ausgefürten Figuren u.[-nd] auch unter den Eland gemalt kleine rote Figuren, Bogen schiessend, 5 cm, in gleicher Farbe, unüberschnitten, wieder anderen Stil Mann u.[-nd] Frau, etw.[etwas] steatopyg, hintereinander hergehend, 11 cm.

About 60 cm above these, distinct streaks from ongoing exfoliation.

[Cat. No. 646] An area *ca.* 1.2m high with eland and buck (all of them 35cm and 25cm) some grazing, a predator [or] similar beast among them [,] 21cm in ochre with black spots (whether these [are] painted is unclear), the other animals are shaded in *caput mortum*, English red, brown, ochre, beside a body [with] jumbled-up colours, and spots of *Krapplackrot*[4] here and there. Back ridge and horns black, which has mostly turned to white.

Mostly the animals do not overlap with one another, except for a large snake whose head is painted over two antelope, [the snake is] *ca.* 1.7m long, white belly, blackish brownish back, upper contour [a] double row of white dots. Unusual head [sketch] 15cm dark line along the top, whether eye is as indicated in the mottled white is uncertain. Above the snake [are] painted red figures, 23cm with weapons, ornaments and helmet-like headdresses. Elsewhere in the same style, all have light contours, 2 [figures] sitting opposite one another, one with a white cloak. Behind these a standing figure in the same style, both arms bent backwards, holding some unknown thing, ?clip/clasp on [his] penis. Below these exceptionally well-executed figures and also below the eland [are] painted little red figures, 5cm tall, in the same colour, firing bows, not overlapping, in a different style again a man and woman, somewhat steatopygous, in a similar posture one behind the other, 11cm.

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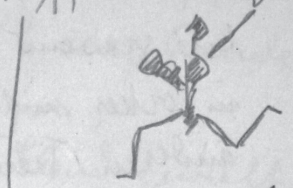
[4] A colour belonging to the Madder Lake family (Weber 1923: 84); red paint made from extracts of the Madder (*Krapp* in German) root, in a brownish ruby or crimson range.

Unter den Tieren, sonst nicht überschnitten, 2 Gruppen schwarzer Figuren verschied. Art u. unterschiedlich weiss gewordener, oben 4 zehige Laufende mit dicken Köpfen, zwei davon mit Schild u. Speer unten ganz od. fast ganz weiss erscheinende, teils mit Tierköpfen mit langen Ohren, dazwischen mit gr. runder Kopf, die haben alle beide Arme erhoben. Beinen so dicht hintereinander, dass Beine sich überschneiden, Phallus bei den meisten.

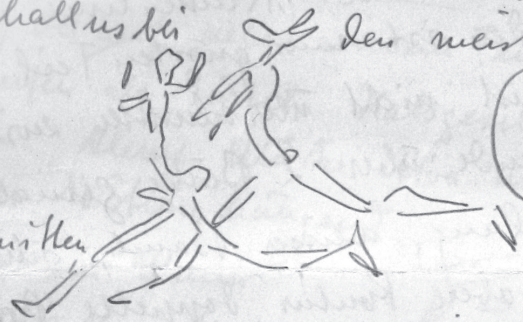


zwei ohne Waffen 13 cm

mit Schurz hinten

11 – 16 cm

Dazu 2 weiss Böckchen, eines von Elend schwerer überschnitten



Anfang des Zuges von 17 Gestalten verschwindet unter Elend.

Ein hell engl. rotes Elend springt mit angezogenen 4 Beinen.

2 Gestalten ca. 22 cm i. braunl. cap mort., eine laufend mit Köcher, eine Bogen schiessend weiter rechts zwischen den Tieren, wo keine Schlange od. and. Gestalten, nicht überschnitten.

Unter den Tieren, sonst nicht überschnitten, 2 Gruppen schwarzer Figuren verschied.[-ener] Art u.[-nd] unterschiedlich weiss geworden: oben 4 spinnebeinige laufende mit dicken Köpfen, zwei davon mit Schild u.[-nd] Speer unter ganz od.[-er] fast ganz weiss erscheinende, teils mit Tierköpfen mit langer Ohren, 5 dazwischen mit gr.[-ossen] runder Kopf, die haben alle beide Arme erhoben. Rennen so dicht hintereinander, dass Beine sich überschneiden, Phallus bei den meisten.

[Skizze] 13 cm, zwei ohne Waffen

[Skizze] mit Schwanz hinten

Dazu 2 weisse Böcken, eines von Elandschwanz überschnitten. Anfang des Zuges von 17 Gestalten verschwindet unter Eland.

Ein hell engl.[isches] rotes Eland springt mit angezogenen 4 Beinen.

2 Gestalten *ca.* 22 cm in bräunl.-[-ich] *cap.[-ut] mort.[-um]*, eine laufend mit Köcher, eine Bogen schiessend weiter rechts zwischen den Tieren, wo Keine Schlange od.[-er] and.[-ere] Gestalten, nicht überschnitten.

Among the animals, that otherwise do not overlap, 2 groups of black figures of various kinds and that have turned white in a patchy way: above [these are] walking figures with spidery legs and large heads, of which two with shield and spear appearing white underneath or almost entirely white, some with animal-heads and long ears, 5 among them with large round heads, these all have both arms raised. Running so close together that their legs overlap, most of them with phallus.

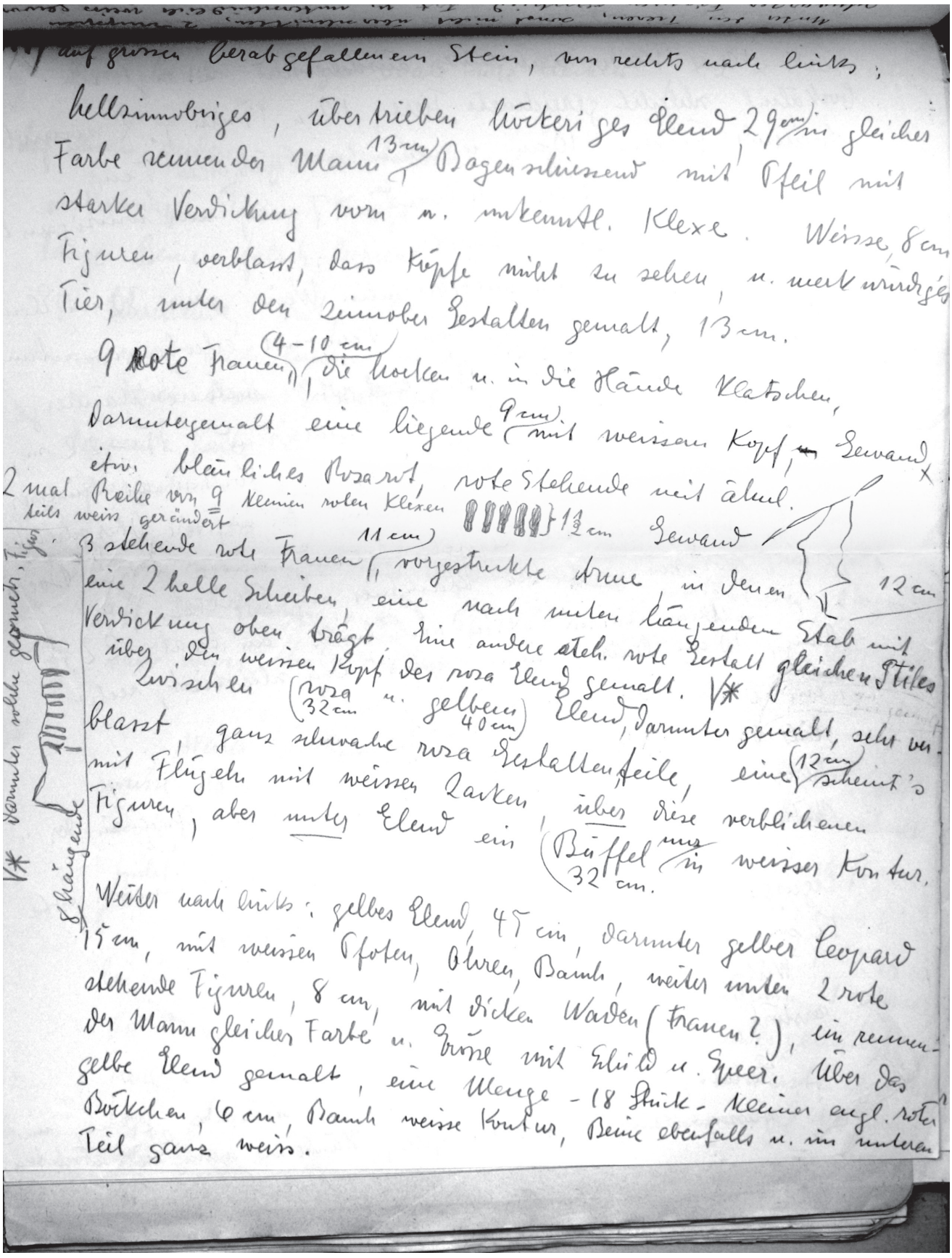
[sketch] 13cm, two without weapons

[sketch] with tail at the back

With these, 2 white buck, one overlapping with eland's tail. [The] beginning of a procession of 17 figures disappears under [the] eland.

One bright English red eland jumps with 4 legs depicted.

Two figures *ca.* 22 cm in brownish *caput mortum*, one walking with a quiver, a bow shooting further right between the animals, where [there is] no snake or other figures, [and] no overlapping.



auf grossen herabgefallenen Stein, von rechts nach links;
hellzinnoberiges, übertrieben hückeriges Elend 29 cm, in gleicher
Farbe rennender Mann (13 cm) Bogen schiessend mit Pfeil mit
starker Verdickung vorn u. unkenntl. Klexe. Weisse, 8 cm
Figuren, verblasst, dass Köpfe nicht zu sehen, u. mehr undeutl.
Tier, unter den Zinnober Gestalten gemalt, 13 cm.
9 rote Frauen (4–10 cm), die Hocken u. in die Hände Klatschen,
Darunter gemalt eine liegende (9 cm) mit weissem Kopf, Gewand
etw. bläulich rosa rot, rote Stehende mit Akne.
2 mal Reihe von 9 kleinen roten Klexen (teils weiss geändert) 1½ cm Gewand
3 stehende rote Frauen (11 cm), vorgestreckte Arme, in denen 12 cm
eine 2 helle Scheiben, eine nach unten hängenden Stab mit
Verdickung oben trägt, eine andere steh. rote Gestalt gleichen Stiles
über den weissen Kopf der rosa Elend gemalt. V*
Zwischen (rosa 32 cm u. gelben 40 cm) Elend, darunter gemalt, sehr ver-
blasst, ganz schwache rosa Gestaltenteile, eine (12 cm) scheint's
mit Flügeln mit weissen Zacken, über diese verblichenen
Figuren, aber unter Elend ein (Büffel 32 cm) in weisser Kontur.

V* darunter rote gegenüber, Figur 8 hängende

Weiter nach links: gelbes Elend, 45 cm, darunter gelber Leopard
15 cm, mit weissen Pfoten, Ohren, Bauch, weiter unten 2 rote
stehende Figuren, 8 cm, mit dicken Waden (Frauen?), ein rennen-
der Mann gleicher Farbe u. Grösse mit Schild u. Speer. Über das
gelbe Elend gemalt, eine Menge – 18 Stück – kleiner ungl. roter
Böckchen, 6 cm, Bauch weisse Kontur, Beine ebenfalls u. im unteren
Teil ganz weiss.

[SECOND PANEL] Auf grossen berabgefallenem stein, von rechts nach links: **[Kat. Nr. 646]** hellzinnoberiges, übertrieben höckeriges Eland 29 cm. in gleicher Farbe rennender Mann 13 cm, Bogenschiessend mit Pfeil mit starker Verdickung vorm u.[-nd] unkenntl.[ich] Klexe [Kleckse?]. Weisse, 8cm Figuren, verblasst, dass köpfe nicht zu sehen, u.[-nd] merkwürdiges Tier, unter den zinnober Gestalten gemalt, 13 cm.

9 rote Frauen 4-10 cm, die hocken u.[-nd] in die Hände Klatschen. Daruntergemalt eine liegende 9 cm mit weissem Kopf, Gewand etw.[-as] bläuliches Rosarot, rote Stehende mit ähnl.[ich] Gewand [Skizze]

2 mal Reihe von 9 kleinen roten Klexen[Klecksen?] [Skizze] 1 ½ cm teils weiss gerändert

3 stehende rote Fraün 11 cm, vorgestreckte Arme, in denen eine 2 helle Scheiben, eine nach unten hängenden Stab mit Verdickung oben trägt. Eine andere Steh.[-ende] rote Gestalt gleichen Stiles über den weissen Kopf des rosa Eland gemalt.*

[Notiz am Linken Rand:] * darunter solche geometr.[-ische] Figur [Skizze] 8 hängende.

Zwischen (rosa 32 cm u. gelbem 40 cm) Eland, darunter gemalt, sehr verblasst, ganz schwache rosa Gestaltenteile, eine 12 cm scheint mit Flügeln mit weissen Zacken, über diese verblichenen Figuren, aber unter Eland ein Büffel 32 cm nur in weisser Kontur.

[Kat. Nr. 648] Weiter nach links: gelbes Eland, 45 cm, darunter gelber leopard 15 cm, mit weissen Pfoten, Ohren, Bauch, weiter unter 2 rote stehende Figuren, 8 cm, mit dicken Waden (Frauen?), ein rennender Mann gleicher Farbe u.[-nd] Grösse mit Schild u.[-nd] Speer. Über das gelbe Eland gemalt, eine Menge – 18 Stück – kleiner engl.[ischer] roter Böckchen, 6 cm, Bauch weisse Kontur, Beine ebenfalls u.[-nd] im unteren Teil gans weiss.

[SECOND PANEL] On a large fallen-down rock, from right to left: **[Cat. No. 646]** exaggerated hump-backed eland in pale cinnabar, 29cm. In the same pigment [a] running man 13cm tall, shooting a bow with [an] arrow with a wide tip and unrecognizable blotches. White, 8cm figures, faded, whose heads are not visible, and a strange 13cm animal painted below [the] crimson figures.

9 red women 4-10cm, that are squatting and clapping their hands. Painted below these a 9cm female figure lying down with white head, garment somewhat bluish pink, [and] red standing female figure with similar garment. [sketch]

2 rows of 9 red blotches [sketch] 1.5cm, some of them outlined in white.

3 red women standing 11cm tall, [with] outstretched arms, two pale discs in the arms of one of the figures, a[nother] woman carries a dangling staff, thicker towards the top end. Another red standing female figure in the same style is painted over the white head of a pink eland.*

[Note in the left margin:] * below [these figures] the following geometric shape [sketch] [with] 8 bits hanging down.

Among [these figures are] eland (pink 32cm and yellow 40cm), painted [superimposed] below [these], extremely faded, very pale pink figure fragments, one 12cm [figure] seems to have wings with sharp white points, [superimposed] on top of these faded figures, but below [the] eland a 32cm buffalo outlined only in white.

[Cat. No. 648] Further to the left: yellow eland, 45cm, below [this a] 15cm yellow leopard with white paws, ears, belly, further along under 2 red standing figures, 8cm, with strong calves (women?), a running man [in] same colour and size with shield and spear. Above the yellow eland, a group –18 figures – [of] little antelope in English red, 6cm, bellies outlined in white, legs also [with white outlines], and with [the] lower parts [of the legs] completely white.

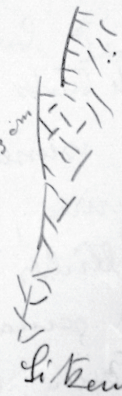
an die kleine Herde nach links anschliessend 2 engl. rot
bockähnl. schlecht gezeichnete Tiere, 12 u. 15 cm, 2 zimmber
schreitende Figuren, 10 cm u. zimmber Böckchen 5 cm,
ein roter sitzender Bogen schiessend 17 cm, mit winzigem Kopf
u. für Länge zu dünnen Gliedern.

Unter ganz dünn aufgetragenem Weiss eines 30 cm Elend
gemalt: dicke, steatopyge Frau, 20 cm, mit erhobenen dünnen
laufend
Armen, schwaches cap. mort. — engl. rot, mehrere Männer ge-
halten, in Reihe gehend od. weit ausschreitend, 15 — 22 m,
engl. rot, einer rosa weiss mit engl. roter Kontur an hinteres
Seite der Beine, 2 mit gelbem Hemd bis auf die Oberschenkel
in 3 weissgeränderten Zipfeln fallend, einige Bogen Bogen
gerade vor sich u. haben Klammer auf Schalter.

Dann kommt weiter nach links ein Oval, 22 cm
lang, 10 cm breit, innen weiss, rosa schattiert, rund
5 cm breiter roter Rand,

dicht darauf sind um das Ganze
herum weisse, etw. ovale Punkte mit rotem Strich in der
Mitte.

Darunter etw. Geometrisches: Daneben rote
Figuren, 13 u. 8 cm, u. weisse, 17 u.
12 cm.



Weiter nach links sitzende rote Figur,
zerstört, 15 cm, eine merkwürdige
Gestalt rot u. weiss, 25 cm, und 2 Sitzende, 20 cm, mit
weissem Hemd über Oberkörper, Hände als wenn sie klatschten.

An die kleine Herde nach links auschliessend 2 engl.[isch] rot bockähnl.[-ich] schlecht gezeichnete Tiere, 12 u.[-nd] 15 cm, 2 zinnober schreitende Figuren, 10 cm u.[-nd] zinnober Böckchen 5 cm, ein roter Sitzender Bogen schiessend 17 cm, mit winzigem Kopf u.[-nd] für länge zu dünnen Gliedern.

[Kat. Nr. 645] Unter ganz dünn aufgetragenem Weiss eines 30 cm Eland gemalt: dicke, steatopyge Frau, 20 cm, mit erhobenen Armen laufend, schwaches *cap.[-ut] mort.[-um]*. – engl.[-isch] rot, mehrere Männer gestalten, in Reihe gehend od.[er] weit ausschreitend, 15-22 cm, engl.[isch] rot, einer rosaweiss mit engl.[isch] roter Kontur an hinterer Seite der Beine, 2 mit gelbem Hemd bis auf die Oberschenkel in 3 weissgeränderden Zipfeln fallend, einige tragen Bogen gerade vor zich u.[-nd] haben Klammer auf Phallus.

[Kat. Nr. 651] Dann Kommt weiter nach links ein Oval, 22 cm lang, 10 cm breit, innere weiss, rosa schattiert, recht 5 cm breiter roter Band, teils darauf sind um das Ganze herum weisse, etw.[-as] ovale Punkte mit rotem Strich in der mitte.

Darunter etw.[-as] Geometrischer: [Skizze] daneben rote Figuren, 13 u.[-nd] 8 cm, u.[-nd] weisse, 17 u.[-nd] 12 cm.

[Kat. Nr. 650] Weiter nach links sitzende rote Figur, zerstört, 15 cm, eine merkwürdige Gestalt, rot u.[-nd] weiss, 25 cm, und 2 Sitzende, 20 cm mit weissem Hemd über Oberkörper, Hände als wenn sie Klatschten, [...]

Left out of the small herd to the left 2 badly drawn buck-like animals in English red, 12 and 15cm, 2 10cm walking figures in cinnabar, and 5cm cinnabar buck, a seated 17cm figure in red firing a bow, with a tiny head and limbs ?as long as they are thin?.

[Cat. No. 645] Below [this] a 30cm eland is painted in very thinly applied white; a fat, steatopygous woman, 20 cm, walking with raised arms, faint *caput mortum* – in English red, several male figures in rows moving or striding with a wide gait, 15-22cm, English red, one in pink-white with English red contours on the backs of the legs, 2 with yellow garments [hanging] down to the thighs [and] ending in a hem formed by three triangular points outlined in white, several [figures] are holding up bows and have ?clips/clasps on their penises.

[Cat. No. 651] Then further to the left comes an oval, 22cm long, 10cm wide, inside [the oval] white shaded with pink, on right side [of the oval] a 5cm wide red band, almost around the whole thing [there are] white somewhat oval dots with red stripes across the middle.

Below this a geometric shape: [sketch] next to this, red figures, 13 and 8cm, and white ones 17 and 12cm.

[Cat. No. 650] Further towards the left a seated figure in red, damaged, 15cm, [and] a peculiar figure, red and white, 25cm, and 2 seated figures, 20cm with white garments covering their upper bodies, [and] hands as if they are clapping, [...]

Darum herum einige ovale rote Flecken, 2 2 × 1 cm.

auf einem anderen grossen Block von links nach rechts:
merkwürdiges Tier, Körper wie schlecht gezeichneter Bock 9 cm
lange Beine falsch herum geknickt für Tier u. Menschen Kopf.
5 Schreitende, rot, scheint's Frauen, 7 – 9 cm regelmäßig
von vorn nach hinten in der Reihe vergrössert. Unter Tier(?)
u. dieser Reihe Geometrisches  , 18 cm lang.
Nemuwe Kerle in rot, 7 – 14 cm, mit Bogen, einer weiss
quergestreifte Beine. Nichts überschnitten.
Weiter 35 cm grosse rote menschl. Figur, gelbweiss
Kontur rundum, mit Elefantenrüssel u. -Zähnen, Bogen
auf dem Rücken u.  Pfeile? Darum herum Punkte
halb weiss, halb rot

Weiter nach rechts 2 Büffel in bläulicher Farbe,
weiße Hörner u. Bauch, Falten am Vorder- u. Hinterschenkel
angegeben, 32 cm. Kleine 5 cm zinnober Strichfigur
nicht überschnitten daneben.

auf einem anderen Block 4 Rind, 24 – 27 cm
bei einander, 2 engl. rot mit weissem Hals u. Bauch, 1 weisser,
darüber genau wie Darstellung hinter einander gehender
Tiere das vierte ganz eaps rot. Das vorderste gesenkter
Kopf, Hörner nach vorn, in Entfernung von 18 cm

darum herum einige ovale rote Flecken, 2 ½ x 1 cm.

[THIRD PANEL] Auf einem anderen grossen Block von links nach rechst: **[Kat. Nr. 653]** merkwürdiges Tier, Körper wie schlecht gezeichneter Bock 9 cm lange Beine falsch herum geknickt für Tier u.[-nd] Menschen Kopf. 5 Schreitende, rot, ?scheint's Frauen, 7-9 cm regelmassig von vorm nach hinten in der Reihe vergrössert. Unter Tier (?) u.[-nd] dieser Reihe geometrisches [Skizze], 18 cm lang. Rennende Kerle in rot, 7-14 cm, mit Bogen, einer weiss guer gestreifte Beine. Nichts überschnitten.

[Kat. Nr. 649] Weiter 35 cm grosse rote menschl.[ich] Figur, gelbweisse Kontur rundum, mit Elefantenrüssel u.[-nd]- Zähnen, Bogen auf dem Rücker u.[-nd] [Skizze] Pfeile? Darum herum Punkte, halb weiss, halb rot [Skizze]

[Kat. Nr. 652] Weiter nach rechts 2 Büffel in blaulicher Farbe, weisse Hörner u.[-nd] Bauch, Falten am Vorder- u.[-nd] Hinterschenkel angegeben, 32 cm. Kleine 5 cm zinnober Stickfigur nicht überschnitten daneben.

[FOURTH PANEL] [Kat. Nr. 657] Auf einem anderen Block 4 Eland, 24-27 cm bei ein ander, 2 engl. [-isch] rot mit weissem Hals u.[-nd] Bauch, 1 weisser, darüber gemalt wie Darstellung hinter ein ander gehender Tiere das vierte ganz *cap[-ut] mort[-um]*. Das vorderste gesenkler Kopf, Hörner nach vorm, in Entfernung von 18 cm[.]

around them some red oval specks, 2.5 x 1cm.

[THIRD PANEL] On another large block from left to right: **[Kat. Nr. 653]** strange animal, [with] buck body [that is] poorly drawn[,] 9cm [with] human head and legs bent the wrong way for an animal. [A line of] 5 striding figures, red, looking like women, 7-9cm [and] of regular shape [but] increasing in size towards the back of the line. Below [the] animal (?) this geometric line: [sketch], 18cm long. Running men in red, 7-14cm, with bows, one with white diagonally striped legs. No superposition.

[Kat. Nr. 649] further along [a] 35cm large red human figure, yellowish-white outline, with elephant's trunk and tusks, arcs from the back and [sketch] arrows? Dots around him, half white, half red [sketch]

[Kat. Nr. 652] Further to the right 2 buffalo in bluish paint, white horns and belly, articulation in front and hind legs indicated, 32cm. Small 5cm cinnabar stick-figure beside them, but not overlapping.

[FOURTH PANEL] [Kat. Nr. 657] On another block 4 eland, 24-27cm, close together, 2 [in] English red with white neck and belly, 1 white one, painted as a backdrop for a fourth walking animal painted only in *caput mortum.* The head of the leading animal is lowered, horns pointing forward[.] At a distance of 18cm [...]

ziemlich leuchtend engl. roter Büffel, gegenüberstehend, 24 cm.

Auf anderem Block: ganz verwischte Ocker Körper von Elend, Kopf, Hals, Beine weg, 2 grosse 35 cm, ein kleines, wohl junges 18 cm, keine menschl. Figur dabei.

Weiter hin 2 Elend in hellem engl. rot, 45 cm, Körper sehr verblasst, weiss von Bauch, Hals, Beine ganz klar, ein junges 24 cm, darunter gemalt rep. mark. rennende Figur 15 cm, und Figur in gleichem verblasstem Engl. rot wie Elend, ob weiss des Tierbeins drüber od. drunter nicht zu entscheiden.

Auf ganz verbarrikadiertem Stein, das kaum zu sehen und nicht zu kopieren: auf Raum von ca 1 m Jagd, ca. ein Dutzend Böcke, etwa 15 cm, sehr schlank und ca 9 rennende Männer Bogen schiessend etwa 8 cm, alles in einer braunen Farbe, auch an den Böcken kein Weiss. Die Menschen auch sehr schlank, sie und die Tiere sehr gut in der Bewegung.

ziemliche leuchtend engl.[isch] roter Büffel, gegenüberstehend, 24 cm.

[FIFTH PANEL] Auf anderen Block: ganz verwischte Ocker Körper von Eland, Kopf, Hals, Beine weg, 2 grosse 35 cm, ein kleines, wohl junges 18 cm, keine menschl.[iche] Figur dabei.

Weiterhin **[on the same panel?]** 2 Eland in hellen engl.[-isch] rot, 45 cm, Körper sehr verblasst, weiss von Bauch, Hals, Beine ganz klar, ein junges 24 cm, darunter gemalt *cap.[-ut] mort.[-um]* rennende Figur 15 cm, und Figur in gleichem verblasstem engl.[-isch] rot wie Eland, ob weiss des Tierbeines d[a]rüber od. d[a]runter nicht zu entscheiden.

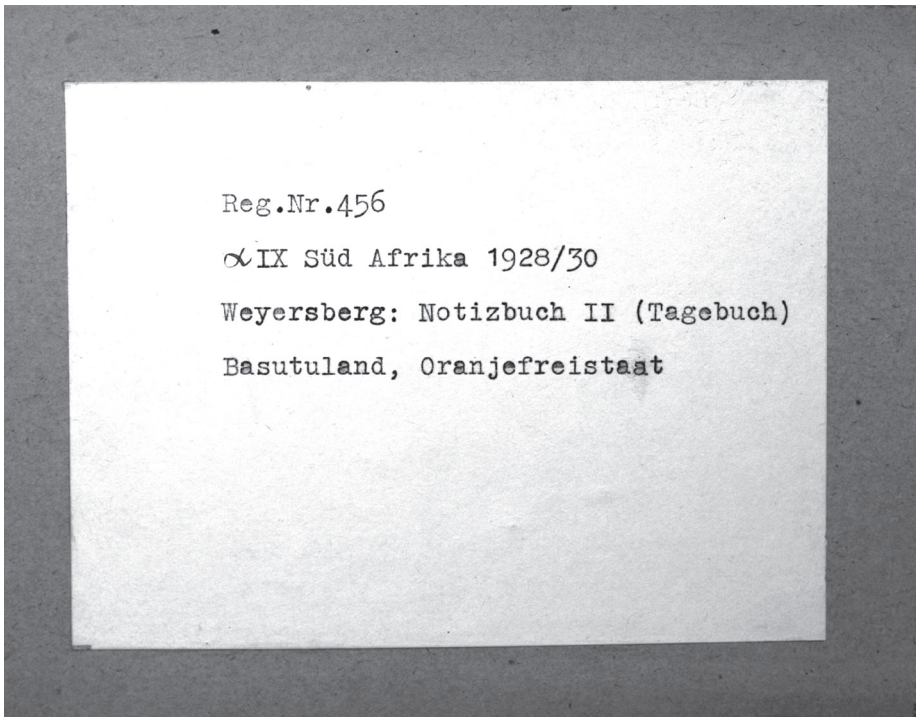
[SIXTH PANEL] Auf ganz verbarrikadiertem Stein, dass kaum zu sehen und nicht zu kopieren: auf Raum von *ca.* 1 m: Jagd, ca ein dutzend Böcke, etwa 15 cm, sehr schlank und *ca.* 9 rennende Männer Bogen schiessend, etwa 8 cm, alles in einer braunen Farbe, auch an den Böcken kein Weiss. Die Menschen auch sehr schlank, sie und die Tiere sehr gut in der Bewegung.

quite a luminous buffalo in English red, in an opposed stance [to the eland], 24cm.

[FIFTH PANEL] On another block: completely smudged eland bodies in ochre, head, neck, legs gone, 2 large 35cm, one small one of 18cm, presumably a calf, no human figures here.

Further along **[on the same panel?]** 2 eland in pale English red, 45cm, bodies very pale, belly, neck, legs all in white, a young one 24cm, painted below it a running figure 15cm in *caput mortum* and another figure in the same faded English red pigment as the eland, whether the white of the animal's legs [is] above or beneath cannot be determined.

[SIXTH PANEL] On a completely barricaded stone that can hardly be seen and cannot be copied: in an area of approximately 1m: a hunt, about a dozen very slender antelope, approx. 15cm, and *ca.* 9 running men firing bows, approximately 8cm, all in brown paint, even in the antelope there is no white here. The humans also very slim, and like the animals they are very animated.



LF 463 (Alte Reg.Nr.456)

α IX Südafrika 1928/30.

Weyersberg: Notizbuch II (Tagebuch)

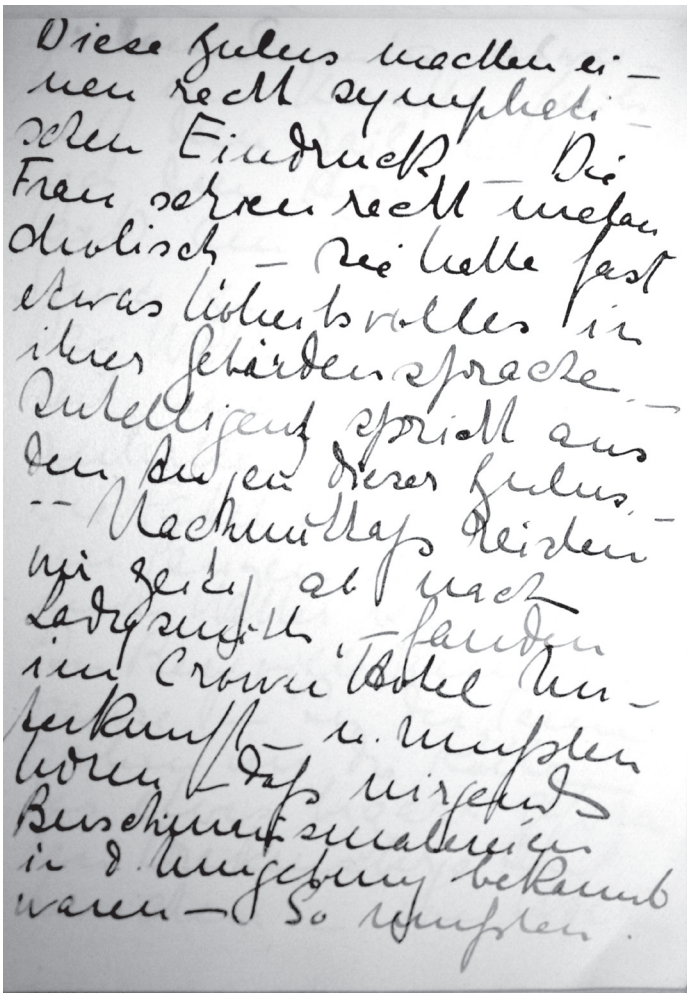
Basutuland, Oranjefreistaat

DESCRIPTION: Small notebook with plain hard cardboard covers and green binding tape containing 113 pages of handwritten notes by Maria Weyersberg. 96 pages are a narrated account of their travels and 17 pages (starting from the back of the notebook) comprise a list of expenses. Her fluid handwriting is not always decipherable.

Although Natal is not listed in the geographic regions covered by this notebook, the last 19 pages cover the first part of this leg of the expedition (numbered here 78-96). The 16 final pages concern the three women's journey to the Natal National Park from 28 January 1929 (pp. 81-96). Cinyati is featured from the second last page (p. 95). The notebook that follows chronologically (LF 464) contains a further 6 pages about this site.

My insertions are in square brackets, these include their Natal site numbers where possible (see Schulz 1929: 1). Question-marks replace words that it was not possible to transcribe, precede words of which I was uncertain and frame passages of which the translation is uncertain. In places I have added punctuation where it clarifies meaning. I have completed abbreviated forms in square brackets in the original text and written them out in full in the translation.

Weyersberg 1929a: 81



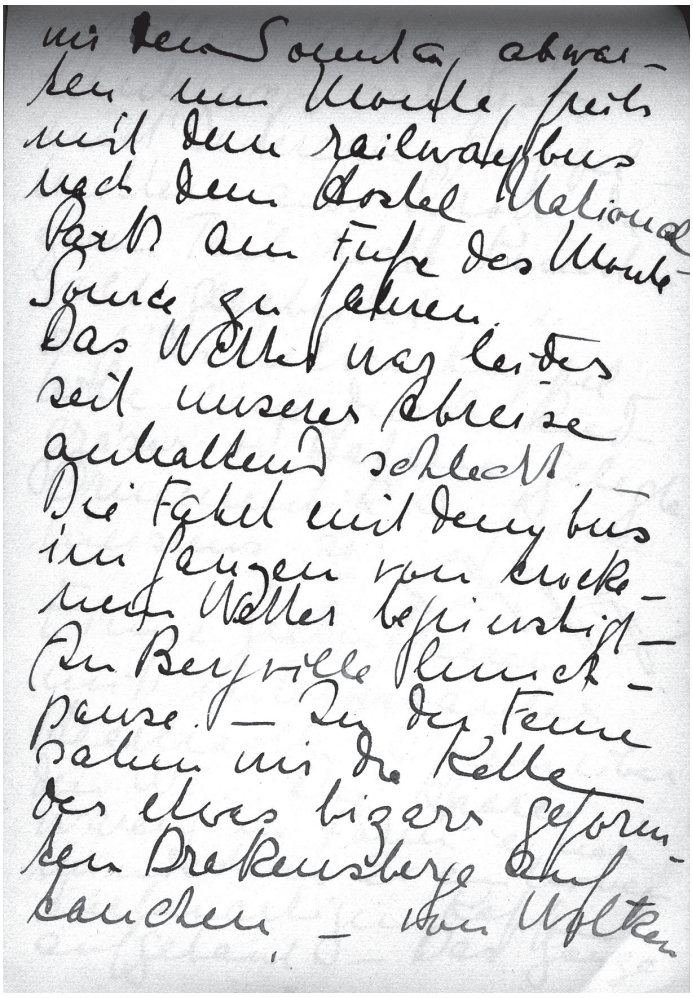
Diese Zulus machten einen recht symphatischen [sic?] Eindruck. Die Frau schien recht melancholisch. Sie hatte fast etwas ?höher als volle? in ihrer gebärdensprache. Intelligenz spricht aus den Augen dieser Zulus.

Nachmittags reiten wir zeidig ab nach Ladysmith, fanden im Crown Hotel unterkunft, u.[-nd] mussten horen daß nirgends Buschmansmalereien in d.[-er] umgebung bekannt waren. So mußten [...]

These Zulus made a really sympathetic impression. The woman seemed very melancholic. She had something ?‘higher-than-full’? in her body language. Intelligence sprang from the eyes of these Zulus.

In the afternoon we rode on the Ladysmith, found accommodation at the Crown Hotel, and were informed that no Bushman paintings were known in the area. So we had to [...]

Weyersberg 1929a: 82

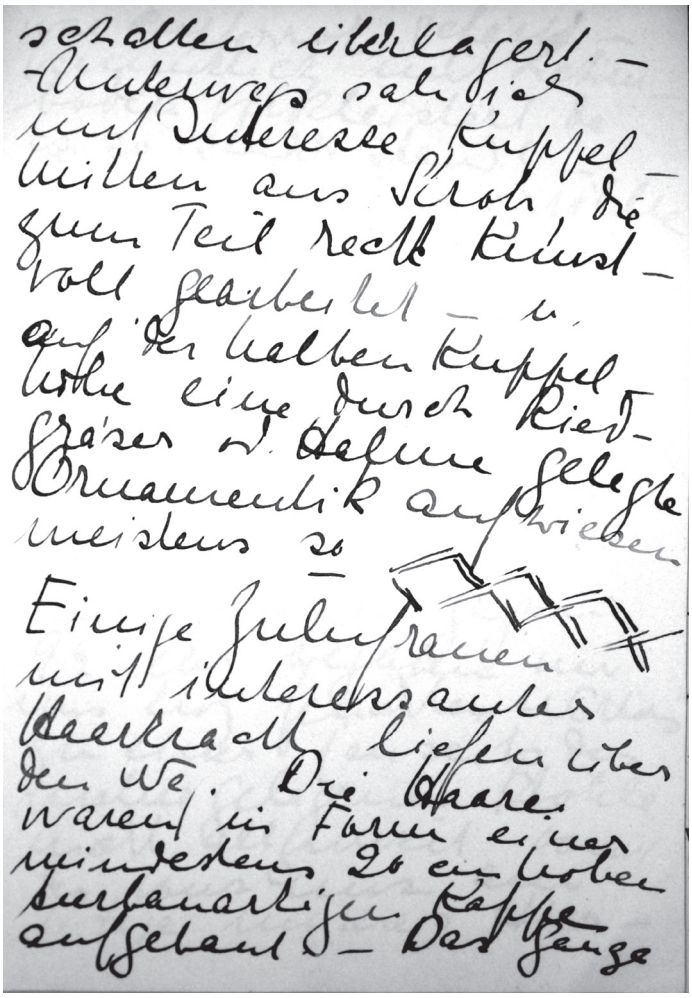


[...] wir den Sonntag abwarten uns Montag früh mit dem railwaybus nach dem Hostel National Park am Fuße des ?Monté Sources [Mont-aux-Sources] zu fahren.

Das Wetter war leider seit unserer Abreise unhaltend schlecht. Die Fahrt met dem bus im Ganzen von trockenem Wetter begünstigt. An Bergville lunch-pause. In der Ferne sahen wir die Kette etwas bizarr geformten Drakensberge auftauchen, van Wolken-

[...] wait through Sunday and travel early on Monday with the railwaybus to the National Park Hostel at the foot of the Mont-aux-Sources.

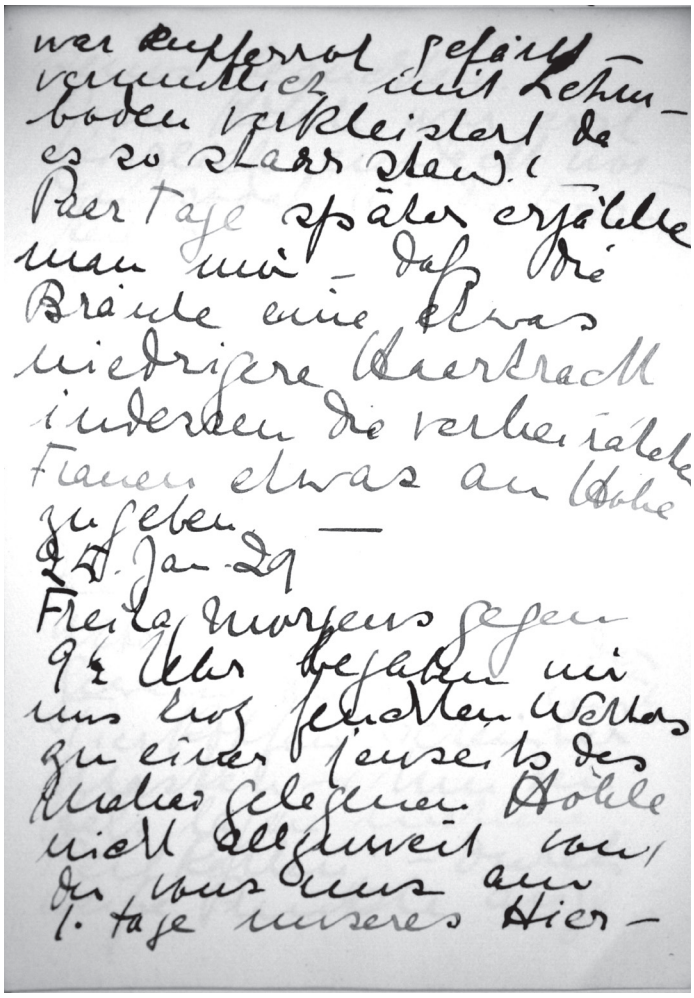
Unfortunately, from the time of our departure, the weather was relentlessly bad. The journey by bus was blessed with completely dry weather. Lunch-stop in Bergville. We saw the somewhat bizarrely shaped Drakensberg mountain range appear in the distance, interspersed [...]



[...] schatten überlagert. Unterwegs sah ich mit Interesse Kuppelhütten aus Stroh, die zum Teil recht Kunstvoll gearbeitet, u.[-nd] auf der halben Kuppelhöhe eine durch Riedgräser od.[-er] Halme gelegde Ornamentik aufwiesen meistens so [Skizze]. Einige Zulufrauen mit interessanter Haartracht liefen über den We. Die Haare waren in Form einer mindestens 20 cm hohen Ausbauartigen Kappe aufgebaut. Das Ganze [...]

[..] with cloud shadows. On the way I observed with interest dome huts from straw, some of which were skilfully crafted, and halfway up the hut walls [a] decorative pattern made from sedges or hay most often like this [sketch]. Some Zulu women with interesting hairstyles were walking along the way. The[ir] hair was shaped into puffed-up coifs at least 20cm high. All of them [..]

Weyersberg 1929a: 84



[...] war Kupferrot gefärbt vermeutlich mit Lehmboden verkleistert da es so starr stand. Paar tage später erzählte man wir, daß die Braute eine etwas niedrigere Haartracht indessen die verheirateten Frauen etwas am Höhe zu geben.

25.Jan.29

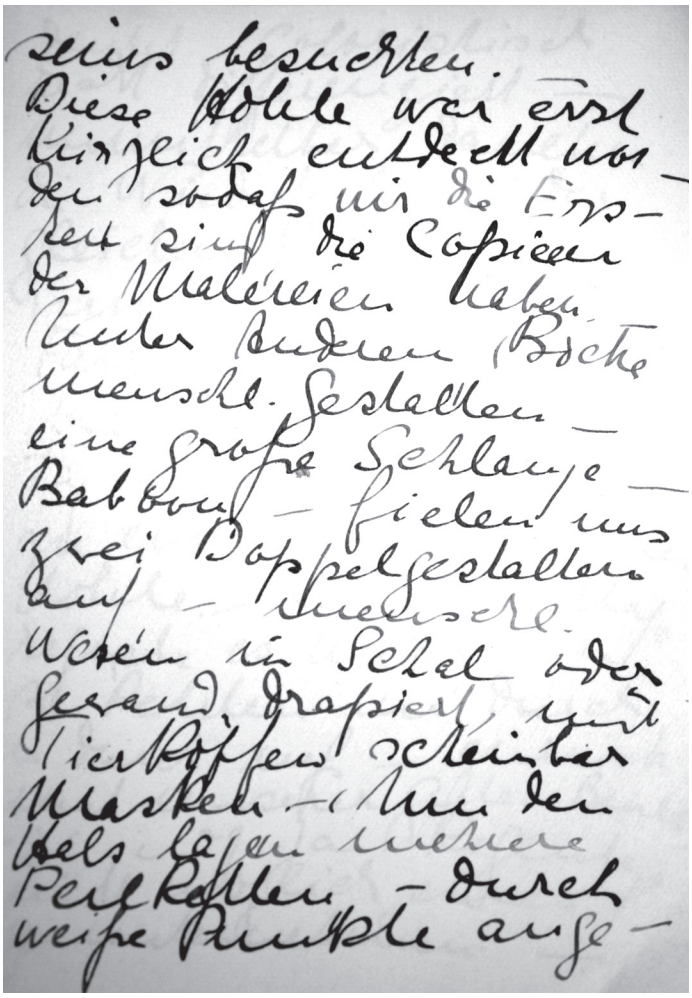
Freitag morgens gegen 9 ½ Uhr begaben wir uns trotz feuchten Wetters zu einer Jenseits des Mahai gelegen Höhle nicht allzuweit von der ? uns am 1te tage unseres Hier- [...]

[...] were painted copper-red probably stuck together with clayey soil for it to stand so stiffly. A few days later we were told that women who are getting married wear slightly lower hairstyles, whereas married women wear something higher.

25 January 1929

Friday morning towards 9:30 we left despite wet weather to a cave located beyond Mahai not too far from ?where we were? **[N.2?]** on the first day of [...]

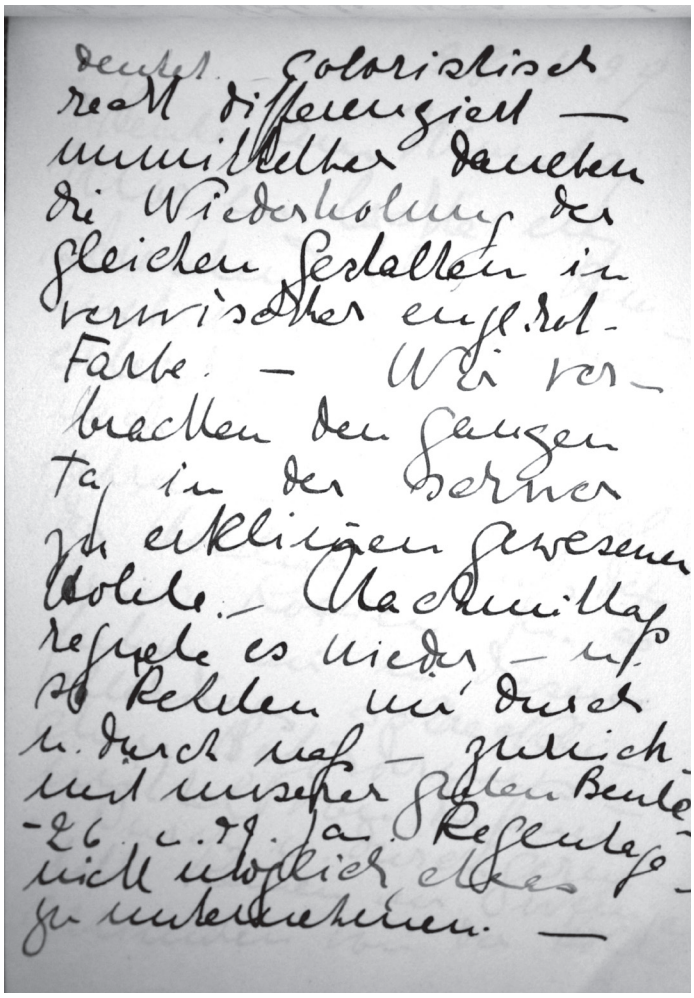
Weyersberg 1929a: 85


seins besuchten. Diese Höhle war erst kürzlich entdeckt wor- den sodaß wir die Ers- ten sind die Copieen der Malereien haben. Unter Anderen Böcke menschl. Gestalten — eine große Schlange — Babboon — fielen uns zwei Doppelgestalten auf — menschl. Wesen in Schal oder Gewand drapiert, mit Tierköpfen scheinbar Masken — Um den Hals lagen mehrere Perlketten — durch weiße Punkte ausge-

[...] seins besuchten. Diese Höhle war erst Kürzlich entdeckt worden sodaß wir die Ersten sind die copieen der Malereien haben. Under anderen Bocke, menschl.[iche] Gestalten, eine grosse Schlange, Baboon, fielen uns zwei Doppelgestalten auf, menschl.[ich] wesen in Schal oder Gewand drapiert, mit Tierköpfen scheinbar masken. Um den Hals lagen mehrere Perlketten, durch weiße Punkte ausge- [...]

[...] our visit. This cave **[N.3]** was discovered recently for the first time so that we are the first ones to have copies of the paintings. Among others, antelope, human figures, a large snake, baboon, two double-figures attracted our attention, human beings draped in a scarf or garment, with animal heads, seemingly masks. Around their necks were several strands of beads, extended by white dots [...]s

Weyersberg 1929a: 86



[...] dehntet colorishisch recht differenziert, unmittelbar daneben die Wiederholung der gleichen Gestalten in verwischer engl.[-isch] rot Farbe.

Wir verbrachten den ganzen tag in der serner zu erklim[m]en gewesener Hohle. Nachmittags regnete es wieder, u.[-nd] so kehrten wir durch u.[-nd] durch nass, ?zuslich mit unserer guten ?Beute.

26 u.[-nd] 27 Jan. Regentage, nicht moglich etwas zu unternehmen.

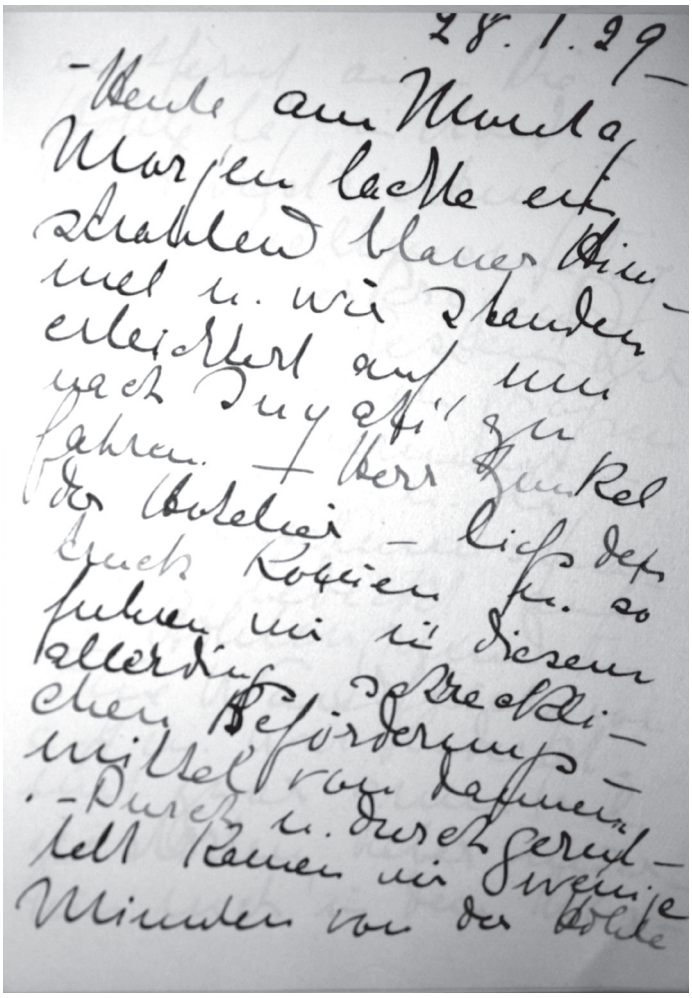
[...] rather contrasted in colour, immediately beside [these] the same figures repeated in smudged English red paint.

We spent the whole day at the cave that was furthest to climb to **[N.3]**.

In the afternoon [it was] raining again, and so we got thoroughly wet, ? with our good ?.

26 and 27 January rain days, [it was] not possible to undertake anything.

Weyersberg 1929a: 87



28.1.29

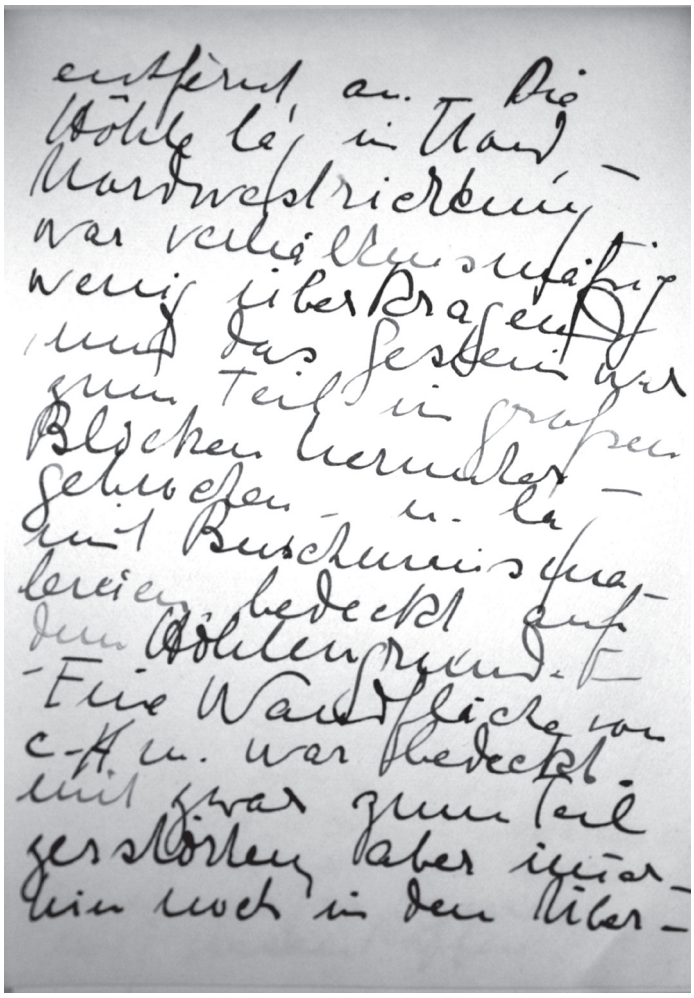
Heute am Montagmorgen lachte ein strahlend blauer Himmel u. wir standen erleichtert auf, um nach Inyati zu fahren – Herr Zunkel [Zunckel] der Hotelier – liess ?den ?truck Lorrien u.[-nd] so fuhren wir in diesem allerdings schrecklichen Beförderungsmittel von dannen. Durch- und durch gerüttelt kamen wir wenige Minuten von der Höhle [...]

28.1.29 [January 28, 1929]

Today on Monday morning a bright blue sky was shining and we were relieved to travel to Inyati **[N.4]**. Mr. Zunckel[1] the hotelier let [us use his] his lorry and so we travelled off in this terrifying means of transport. Thoroughly shaken we arrived a few minutes from the Cave.

[1] Mr Otto Zunckel was the lessee of the small hostel from 1926 to1939 (Document: 'Historical and other notes', RNNP file, EKZNW).

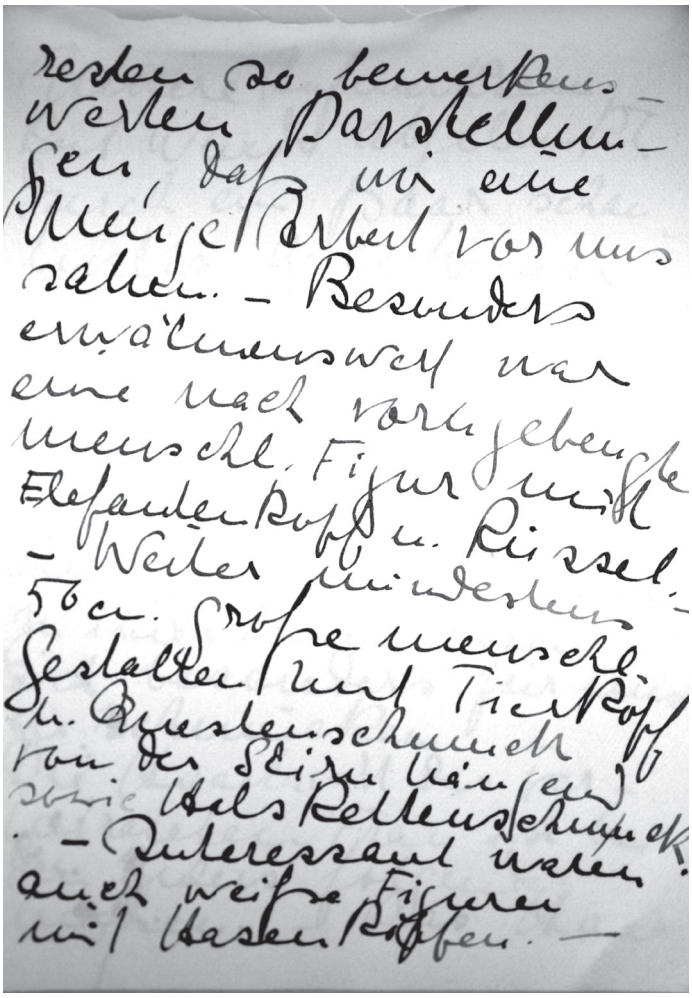
Weyersberg 1929a: 88



[...] entfernt an. Die Höhle lag in Nordnordwestrichtung, war verhältnismässig wenig überkragend, und das Gestein war zum Teil in grossen Blöcken herunterge?. U.[-nd] lag mit Buschmannsmalereien bedeckt auf dem Höhlengrund. Eine Wandfläche von c. 4 m war bedeckt mit zwar zum Teil zerstörten aber immerhin noch in den Über- [...]

[...] The cave lay in the north-north-westerly direction, had relatively little overhang, and in places the rock had fallen-down in large blocks. And lay covered with Bushman paintings on the floor of the cave. A panel of ca. 4m was covered with somewhat damaged [paintings] but there were still among the [...]

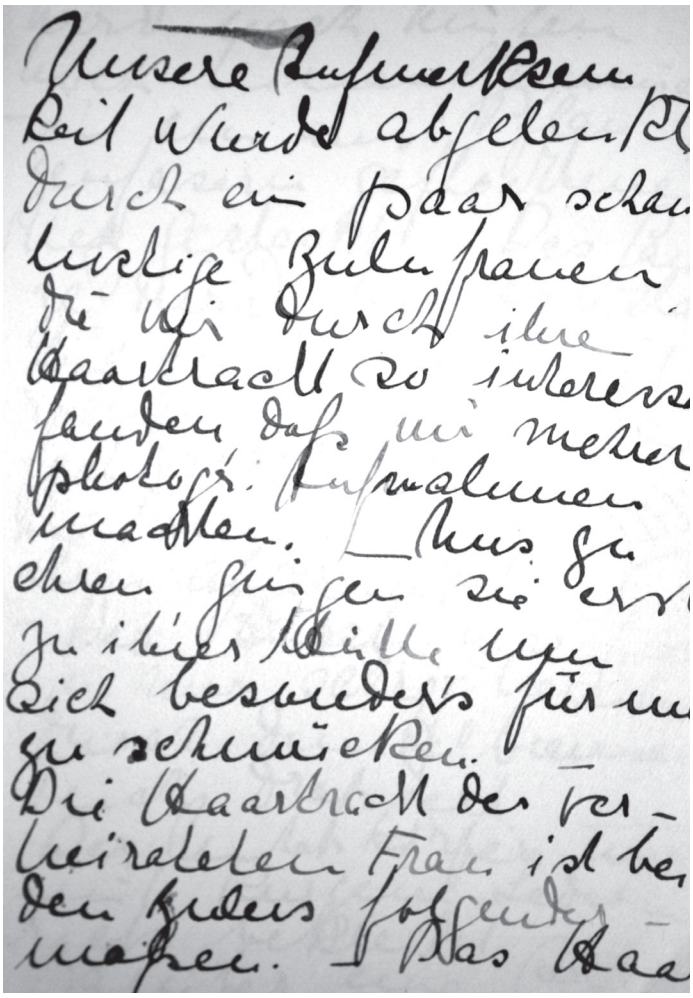
Weyersberg 1929a: 89



[...] resten so bemerkenswerten Darstellungen, dass wir eine Menge Arbeit vor uns sahen. Besonders erwähnenswert war eine nach vorn gebeugte menschl.[iche] Figur mit Elefantenkopf u. Rüssel. Weiter mindestens ?50 cm grosse menschl.[iche] Gestalten mit Tierkopf u.[-nd] Quastenschmuck von der Stirn hängend sowie Halskettenschmuck. Interessant waren auch weisse Figuren mit Hasenköpfen.

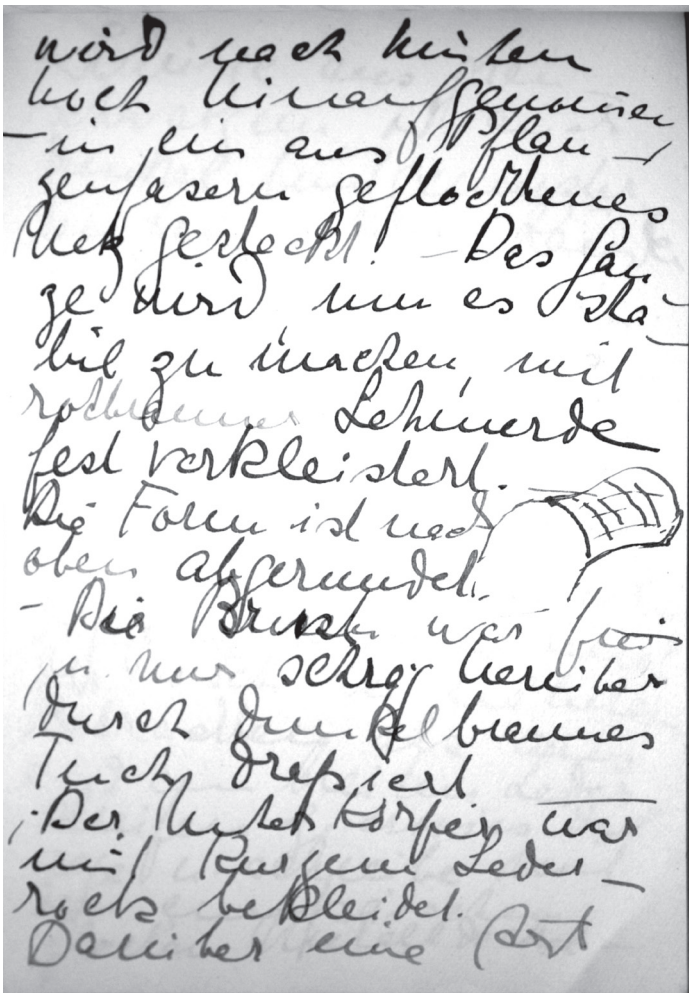
[...] remains such outstanding presentations that we saw a lot of work ahead of us. Particularly noteworthy was a stooped forward human figure with elephant head and trunk. Furthermore, at least ?50cm tall human figures with animal heads and tassle-decorations hanging from there foreheads as well as necklaces. There were also interesting white characters with rabbit heads.

Weyersberg 1929a: 90



Unsere Aufmerksamkeit wurde abgelenkt durch ein paar schaulustige Zulufrauen, die wir durch ihre Haartracht so interessant fanden, dass wir mehrere photogr.[-aphische] Aufnahmen machten. Uns zu ehren, gingen sie erst zu ihrer Hütte, um sich besonders für uns zu schmücken. Die Haartracht der verheirateten Frau ist bei den Zulus folgendermassen. Das Haar [...]

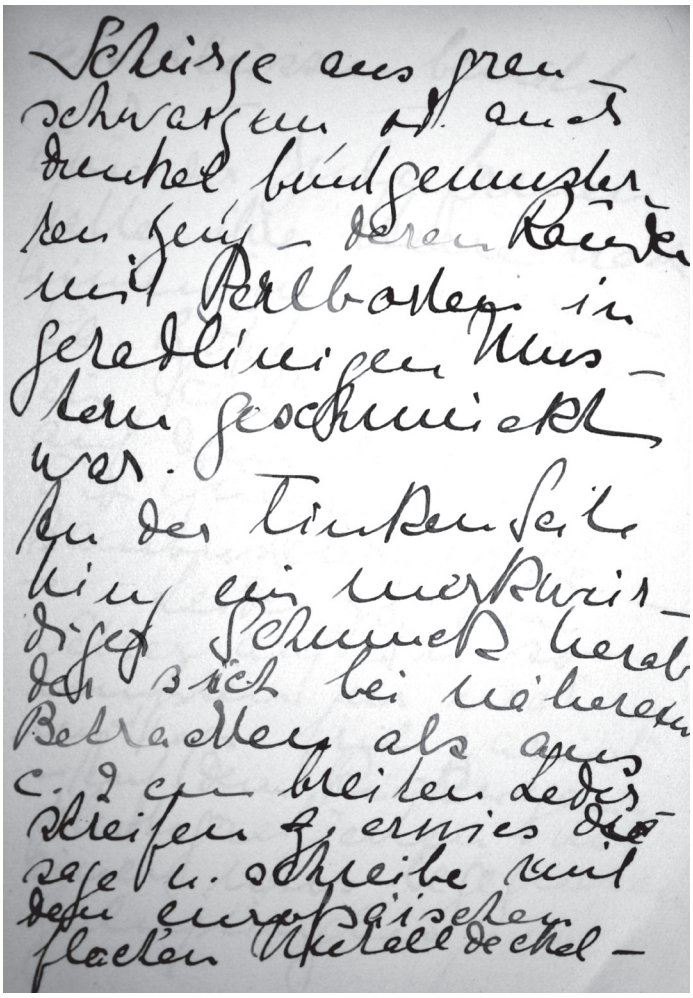
Our attention was diverted by a few onlooking Zulu women, which we found so interesting because of their hairstyles that we made several photographic recordings. In our honour, they went first to their hut in order to decorate themselves especially for us. The hairstyle of a married woman is as follows among the Zulus. The hair [...]



[...] wird nach hinten hoch hinaufge?nommen? in ein aus Pflanzenfasern geflochtenes Netz gesteckt. Das Ganze wird, um es stabil zu machen, mit rotbrauner Lehmerde fest verkleistert. Die Form ist nach oben abgerundet [Skizze]. Die Brüste war frei nur schräg herüber durch dunkelbraunes Tuch drapiert. Der Unterkörper war mit kurzem Lederrock bekleidet. Darüber eine Art [...]

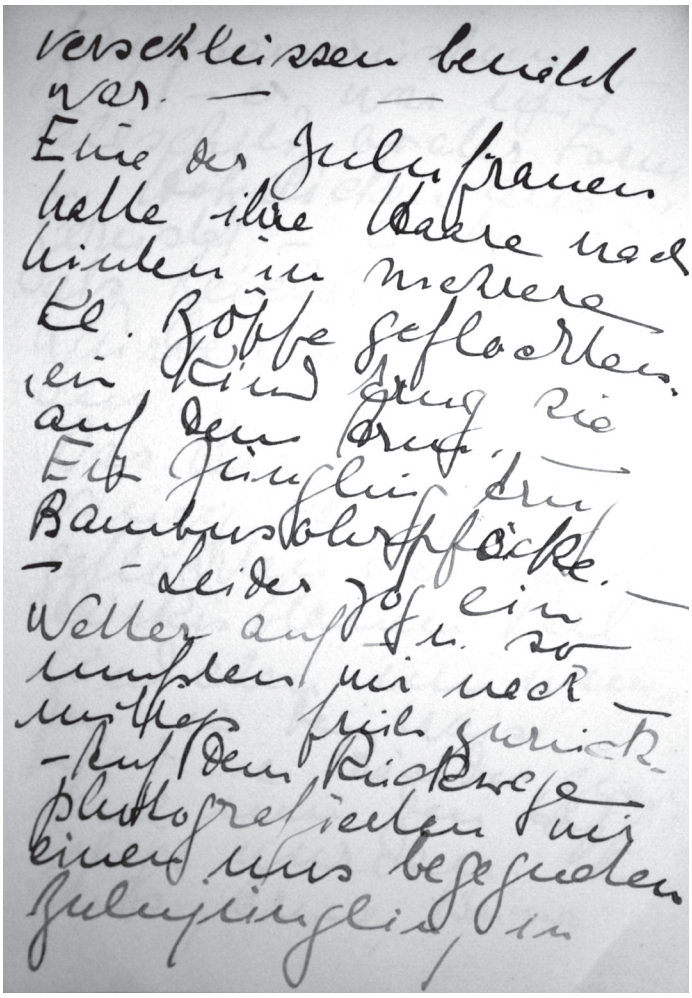
[...] is taken high up at the back, inserted into a woven plant fibre net. To make it stable the whole thing is set with reddish-brown clay. The shape is rounded upwards [sketch]. Her breasts were bare, only draped obliquely with dark brown cloth. The lower body was clothed in a short leather skirt. In a kind [...]

Weyersberg 1929a: 92



[...] Schürze aus grau-schwarzem oder auch dunkel, bunt-gemustertem zeug, deren Ränder mit Perlborten in geradlinigen Mustern geschmückt war. An der linken Seite hing ein merkwürdiger Schmuck herab, der sich bei näherem Betrachten als aus c. 2 cm breiten Lederstreifen erwies, die sage und schreibe mit den europäischen flaschen Metalldeckel- [...]

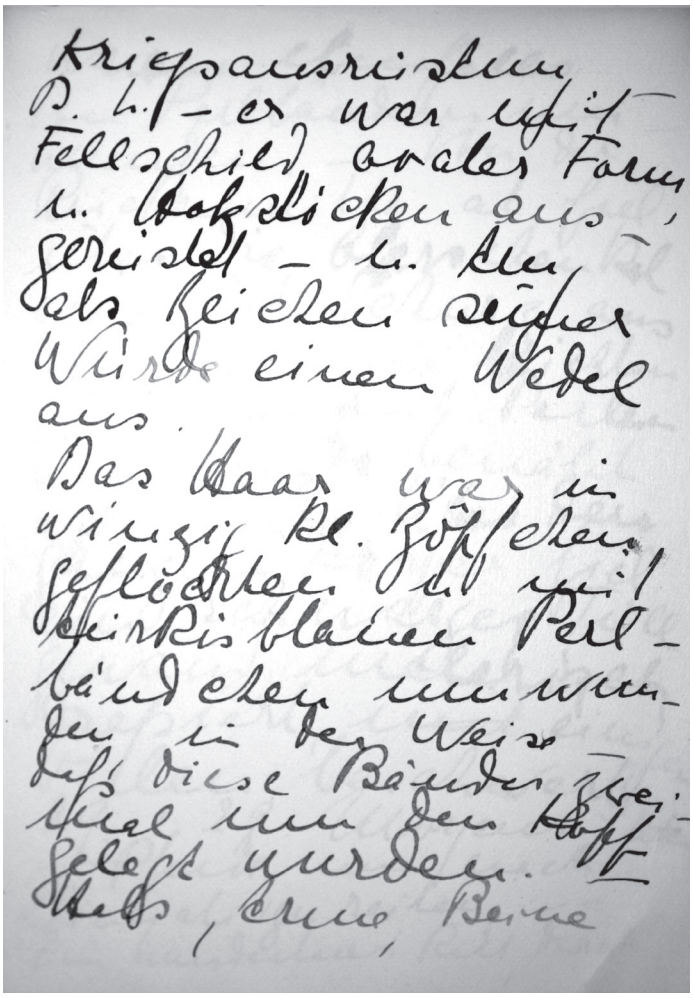
[...] of greyish-black skirt or out of darkly patterned cloth, the edges were decorated with braided strands of beads in rectilinear patterns. On the left side two extraordinary decorations hung down, which on closer inspection proved to be ca. 2cm wide leather strips, sewn believe it or not with metallic European [...]



[...] verschlüssen benäht war. Eine der Zulufrauen hatte ihre Haare nach hinten in mehrere kleine Zöpfe geflochten, ein Kind trug sie auf dem Arm. Ein Jüngling trug Bambusohrstöcke. Leider zog ein Wetter auf und so mussten wir nachmittags früh zurück. Auf dem Rückweg photografierten wir einen uns begegnenden Zulujüngling in [...]

[...] bottle-caps. One of the Zulu women had her hair braided back in small strands, and carried a child in her arms. A young man wore bamboo sticks through his ears. Unfortunately a storm moved in so we had to return in the early afternoon. On the way back we photographed a Zulu youth we encountered in [...]

Weyersberg 1929a: 94



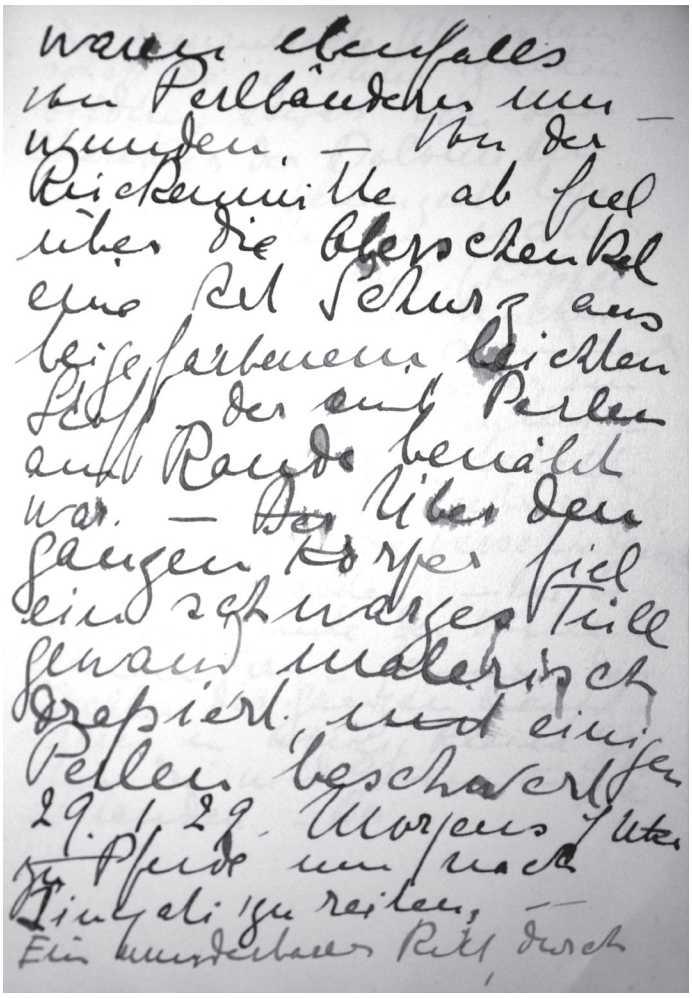
[...] Kriegsausrüstung, d.h. er war mit Fellschild ovaler Form und Holzstöcken ausgerüstet – und trug als Zeichen seiner Würde einen Wedel aus.

Das Haar war in winzige kleine Zöpfchen geflochten und mit türkisblauen Perlbändchen umwunden in der Weise dass diese Bänder zweimal um den Kopf gelegt wurden. Hals, Arme, Beine [...]

[...] fighting gear, i.e. he was equipped with a fur-covered oval shield and wooden sticks – and carried a fly whisk as a sign of prestige.

The hair was braided into tiny pigtails and tied with strands of turquoise beads in such as way that these were wound around his head twice. Neck, arms and legs [...]

Weyersberg 1929a: 95



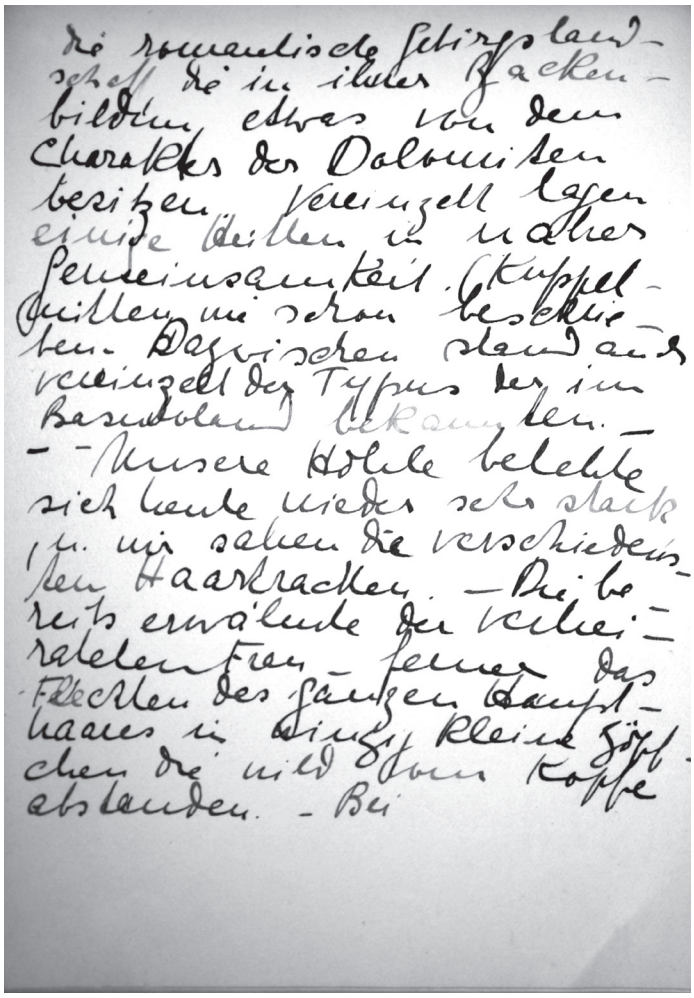
[...] waren ebenfalls mit Perlbändchen umwunden. Von der Rückenmitte fiel über die Oberschenkel eine Art Schurz aus beigefarbenem leichten Stoff, der mit Perlen am Rande benäht war. Über den ganzen Körper fiel ein schwarzes Tüllgewand malerisch drapiert, mit einigen Perlen beschwert.

29.1. 29. Morgens ? zu Pferde, um nach Zinyati zu reiten. Ein wunderbarer Ritt durch [...]

[...] were also wound around his legs. A kind of skirt in lightweight beige fabric hung down from the centre of his back down to mid- thigh, with beads sewn into the hem. A black garment, light and translucent like chiffon, was picturesquely draped over his whole body, weighted with some beads.

29.1.29 [29 January 1929] In the morning ? by horse to travel to Zinyati **[N.4]**. A marvellous journey through [...]

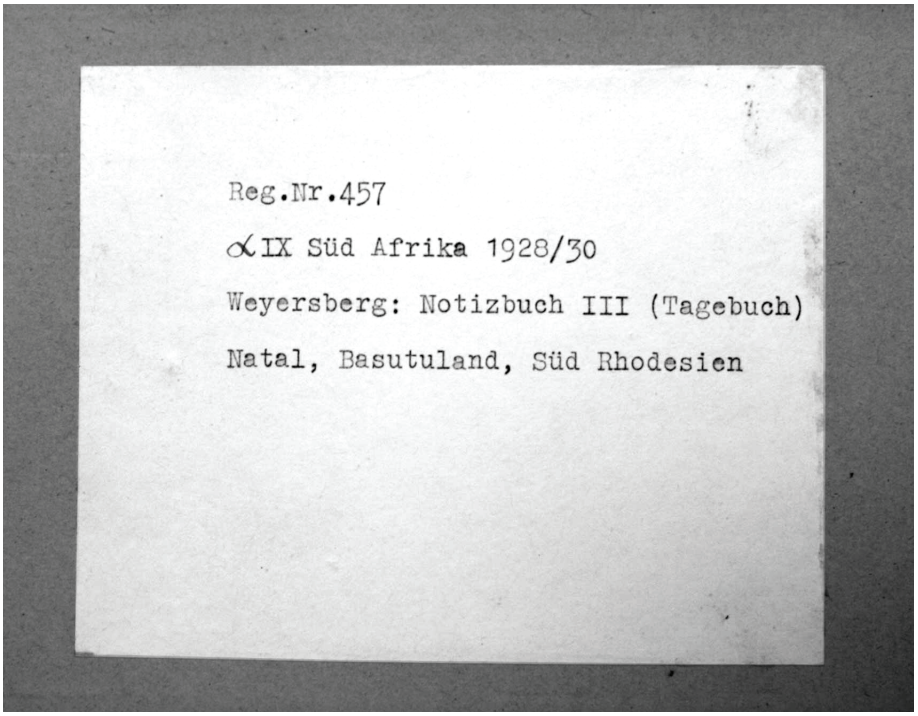
Weyersberg 1929a: 96



[...] die romantische Gebirgslandschaft, die in ihrer Zackenbildung etwas von dem Charakter der Dolomiten besitzen. Vereinzelt lagen einige Hütten in naher Gemeinsamkeit (Kuppelhütten im schon beschriebenen). Dazwischen stand auch vereinzelt der Typus der im Basutoland bekannten. Unsere Höhle belebte sich heute wieder sehr stark und wir sahen die verschiedensten Haartrachten. Die bereits erwähnte der verheirateten Frau, ferner das Flechten des ganzen Haupthaares in winzig kleine Zöpfchen, die mild vom Kopfe abstanden. Bei [...]

[...] the romantic mountain landscape, that in the fashioning of its peaks possesses something of the nature of dolomite. Scattered with some huts of the nearby community (dome-shaped huts as described above [page 83]). In between these there was also occasionally the type known in Basutoland. Our cave livened up again today very enthusiastically and we saw a variety of hairstyles. The previously mentioned married woman had further woven all her hair into tiny braids, that stood up softly above her head. By [unfinished sentence?]

[end of LF 463; journal continued in LF 464.]



LF 464 (Alte Reg. Nr. 457)

α IX Südafrika 1928/30.

Weyersberg: Notizbuch III (Tagebuch)

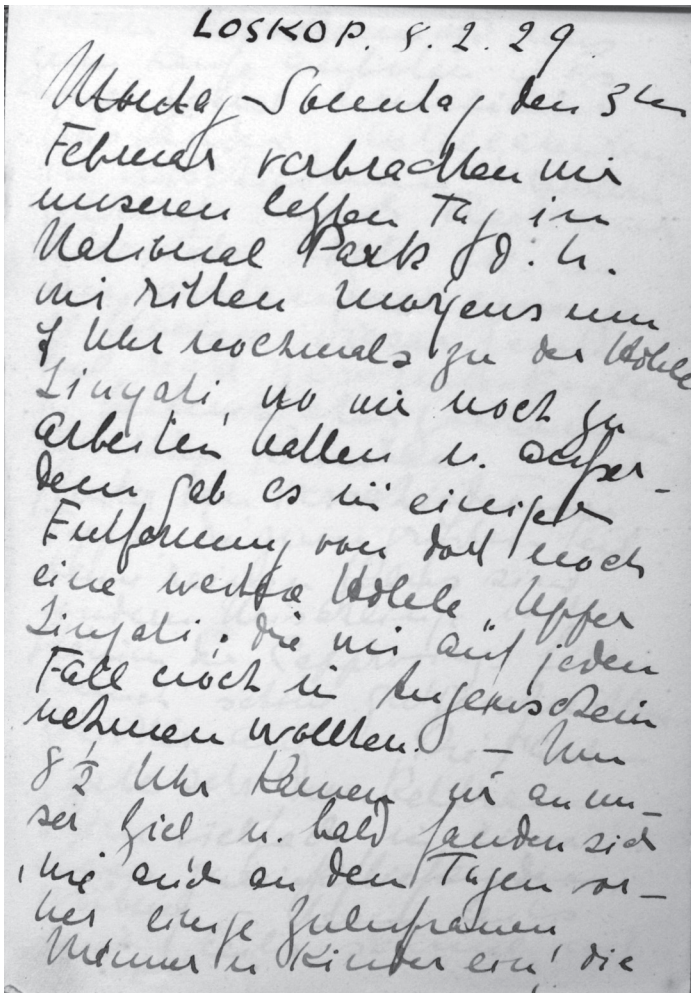
Natal, Basutuland, Süd Rhodesien

DESCRIPTION: Small notebook with plain hard cardboard covers and green binding tape containing 98 pages of handwritten notes by Maria Weyersberg. 80 pages are a narrated account of their travels and 18 (starting from the back of the notebook) comprise a list of expenses. Her fluid handwriting is not always decipherable.

The first 3 pages concern Lower Cinyati (or Zinyati) and the Natal National Park area that Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg explored between Sunday 3 to Friday 8 February 1929. (The last 2 pages of the notebook that precedes this one – LF 463 – also deal with Cinyati from 28 January 1929.) Weyersberg travelled to Upper Cinyati on 3 February without the other two artists on (pp. 4-6).

My insertions are in square brackets. Question-marks replace words that it was not possible to transcribe, precede words of which I was uncertain and frame passages of which the translation is uncertain. In places I have added punctuation or capitalization where it clarifies meaning. I have completed abbreviated forms in square brackets in the original text and written them out in full in the translation.

Weyersberg 1929b: 1

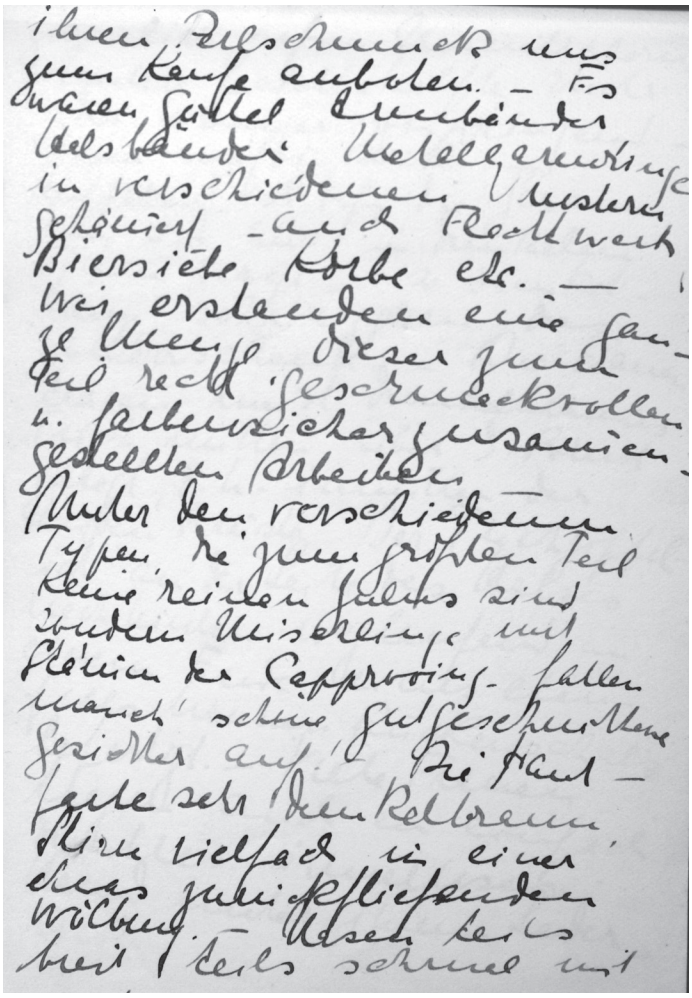

LOSKOP. 8. 2. 29.
Montag-Sonntag, den 3ten
Februar verbrachten wir
unseren letzten Tag im
National Park d. h.
wir ritten morgens um
7 Uhr nochmals zu der Höhle
Zinyati, wo wir noch zu
arbeiten hatten u. ausser-
dem gab es in einiger
Entfernung von dort noch
eine weitere Höhle „Upper
Zinyati", die wir auf jeden
Fall noch in Augenschein
nehmen wollten. – Um
8½ Uhr kamen wir an unser
Ziel u. bald fanden sich
wie auch an den Tagen vor-
her einige Zulufrauen
Männer u. Kinder ein, die

LOSKOP 8.2.29

~~Montag~~ Sonntag den 3. Februar verbrachten wir unseren letzten Tag im National Park, d.h. (das heisst, i.e.) wir ritten morgens um 7 Uhr nochmals zu der Höhle Zinyati **[N.4]**, wo wir noch zu arbeiten hatten und ausserdem gab es in einiger Entfernung von dort noch eine weitere Höhle „Upper Zinyati", die wir auf jeden Fall noch in Augenschein nehmen wollten. – Um 8 ½ Uhr kamen wir zu unserem Ziel und bald fanden sich wie auch an den Tagen vorher einige Zulufrauen, Männer und Kinder ein, die [...]

LOSKOP 8.2.29 [8 February 1929]

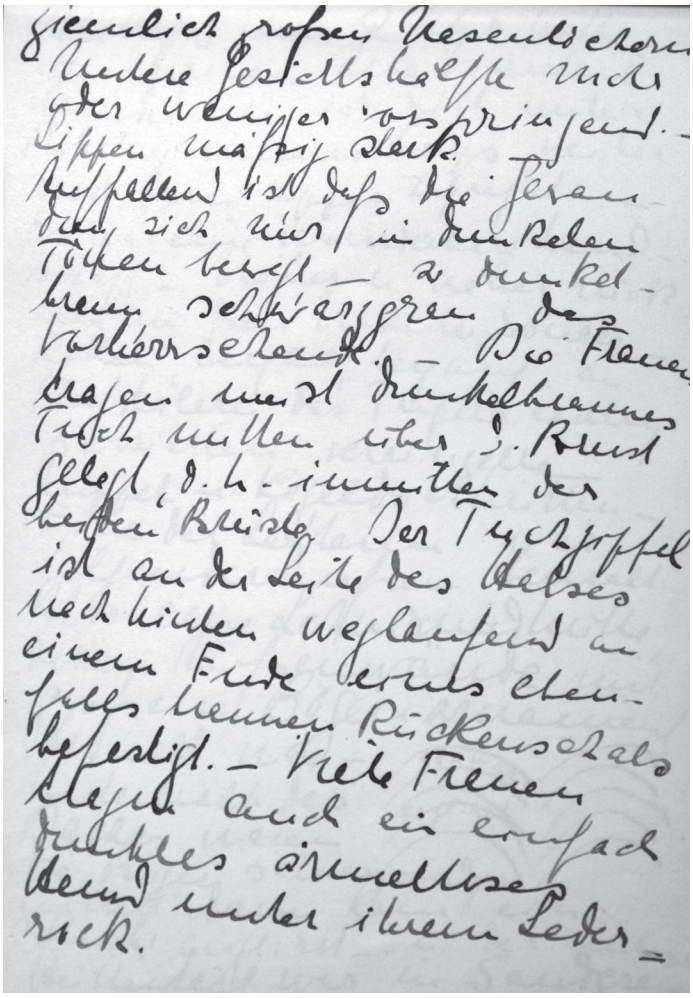
~~Monday~~ Sunday 3 February we spent our last day in National Park, that is we drove at 7 o'clock in the morning to Zinyati Shelter once again, where we still had work to do and there was also a certain distance from there another larger shelter 'Upper Zinyati', that we in any case wanted to have a look at. – At 8:30 we arrived at our destination and soon came across, as on previous days, a number of Zulu women, men and children, who [...]



[...] ihren Perlschmuck uns zum Kaufe anboten. Es waren ? Armbänder, Halsbänder, Metallarmringe in verschiedenen Mustern ge?, auch Flechtwerk, Biersiebe, Körbe etc. Wir erstanden eine ganze Menge dieser zum Teil recht geschmackvollen und farbensicher zusammengestellten Arbeiten. Unter den verschiedenen Typen, die zum grössten Teil keine reinen Zulus sind, sondern Mischlinge mit ? der Capprovinz fallen manch schöne gutgeschnittene Gesichter auf! Die Hautfarbe sehr dunkelbraun. Stirn vielfach in einer etwas zurückfliehenden Wölbung. Nasen teils breit teils schmal mit [...]

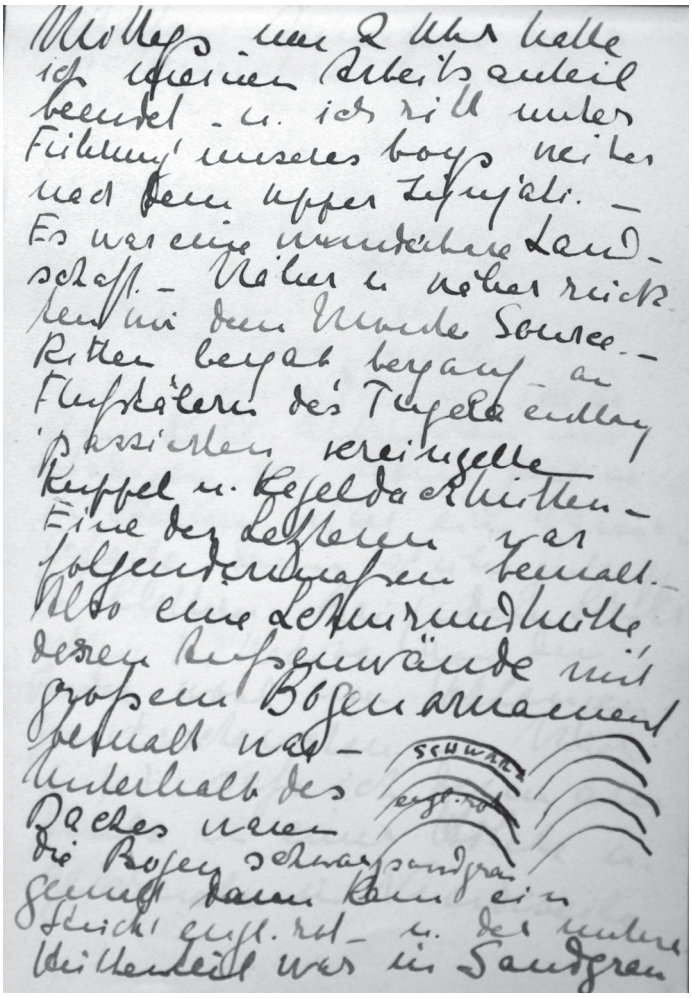
[...] offered us their beadwork for purchase. This included armbands [bracelets], neckbands [necklaces], metal arm rings ? in different patterns, also weaving, beer pots [sieves?], baskets etc. We purchased a whole lot of this collection of works some of which were really colourful and in good taste. Among these different types [people?], that are for the most part not pure Zulu but mixed with ¥ from the Cape Province, some well sculpted faces stood out! The skin colour very dark brown. Forehead in many cases in a slightly receding arch. Noses sometimes wide sometimes narrow with [...]

Weyersberg 1929b: 3



[...] ziemlich grossen Nasenlöchern. Untere Gesichtshälfte nicht oder weniger vorspringend. Lippen mässig stark. Auffallend ist, dass die ¥ sich nur in dunkelen Tüchern bewegt ?zu dunkelbraun schwarzgrau das Vorherrschende. Die Frauen tragen meist dunkelbraunes Tuch mitten über die Brust gelegt, dh inmitten der beiden Brüste. Der Tuchzipfel ist an der Seite des Halses nach hinten weglaufend an einem Ende eines ebenfalls braunen Rückenschals befestigt. Viele Frauen tragen auch ein einfach dunkles ärmelloses Hemd unter ihrem Lederrock.

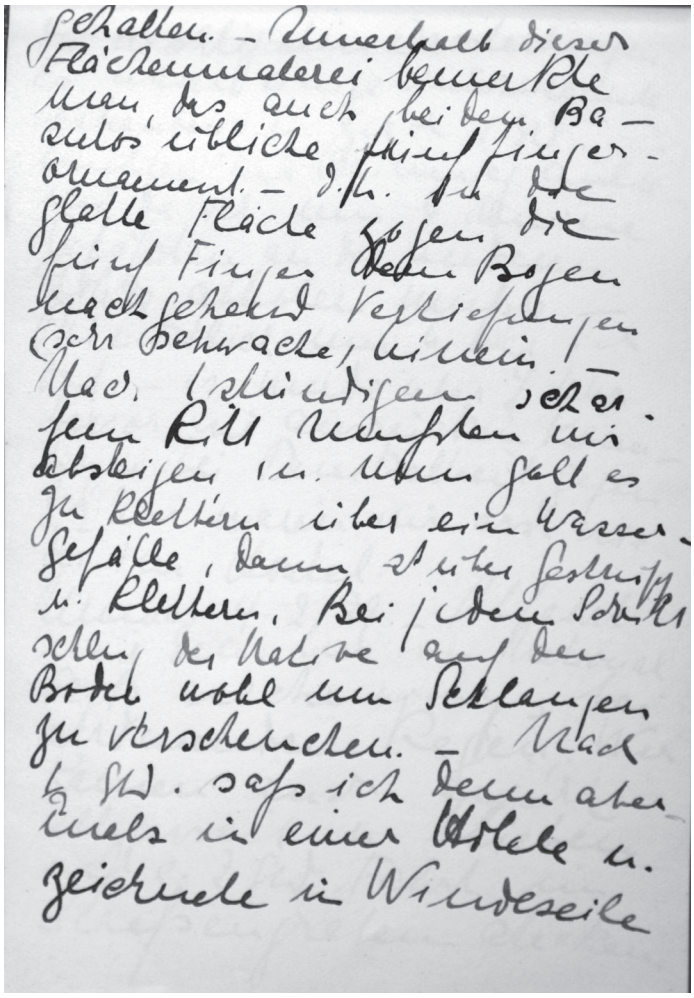
[...] fairly large nostrils. The bottom half of the face not or only slightly protruding. Lips moderately thick. ?What was striking is that the ¥ were only in dark fabrics ? ? dark-brown black-grey predominant(?ly)?. The women wear mostly dark brown fabric down the middle over the breasts, ie between their breasts. The corner of the fabric is attached on the side of the neck around the back to the end of brown back shawl. Many women also wear a simple dark sleeveless shirt under their leather skirt.



Mittags um 2 Uhr hatte ich meinen Arbeitsanteil beendet und ich ritt unter Führung unseres boys weiter nach dem Upper Zynyati. Es war eine wunderbare Landschaft. Näher und näher rückten wir dem ?Monte Source [Mont-aux-Sources]. - Ritten bergab bergauf an den Flusstälern des Tugela entlang, passierten vereinzelte Kuppel u.[-nd] Kegeldachhütten. Eine der letzteren war folgendermassen bemalt: Also eine Lehmrundhütte deren Aussenwände mit grossem Bogenornament bemalt war [Skizze] – schwarz, engl.[-isch] rot. Unterhalb des Daches waren die Bögen schwarz und grau gemalt, dann kam ein Stück engl.[-isch] rot u.[-nd] der untere Hüttenteil war ein Sandgrau [...]

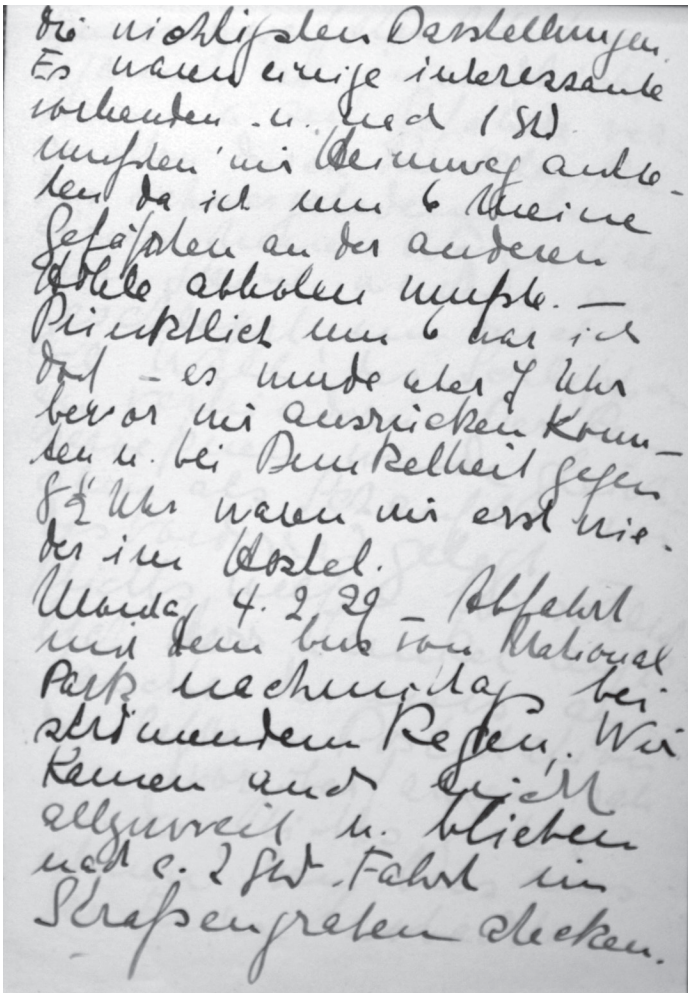
Noon to 2 o'clock I had finished my share of the work and with the guidance of our boys I rode onwards to the Upper Zynyati **[N.4]**. It was a wonderful landscape. Nearer and nearer we drew to the Mont-aux-Sources - Rode uphill downhill along the river valleys of the Tugela, passed isolated dome- and cone-roofed huts. One of the latter was painted as follows: that is a round clay hut whose exterior was painted with large arched motifs [sketch] – black, English red. Beneath the roof the arches were painted black and gray, then came a bit in English red and the lower part of the hut was kept a sand-grey.

Weyersberg 1929b: 5



[...] gehalten. - Innerhalb dieser Flächenmalerei bemerkte man, das auch bei den Basutos übliche Fünffingerornament – d.h. in die glatte Fläche zogen die fünf Finger den Bogen nachgehend Vertiefungen (sehr schwache) hinein. – Nach einstündigem scharfen Ritt mussten wir absteigen in. Nun galt es zu klettern über ein Wassergefälle dann z.t. [zum Teil] über Gestrüpp zu klettern. Bei jedem Schritt schlug der Native auf den Boden, wohl um Schlangen zu verscheuchen. Nach ½ Stunde sass ich dann abermals in einer Höhle und zeichnete in Windeseile [...]

[...] In this wall painting we noticed the five-finger decoration that is also the Basuto practice – i.e. in the smooth surface (very faint) indentations created by five fingers moving in an arc. – After an hour's sharp riding we had to take shelter. Then we had to climb over a waterfall then scramble through bushes. At each step the Native struck the ground, probably to scare away snakes. After half an hour then again I was sitting in a cave and swiftly recorded [...]



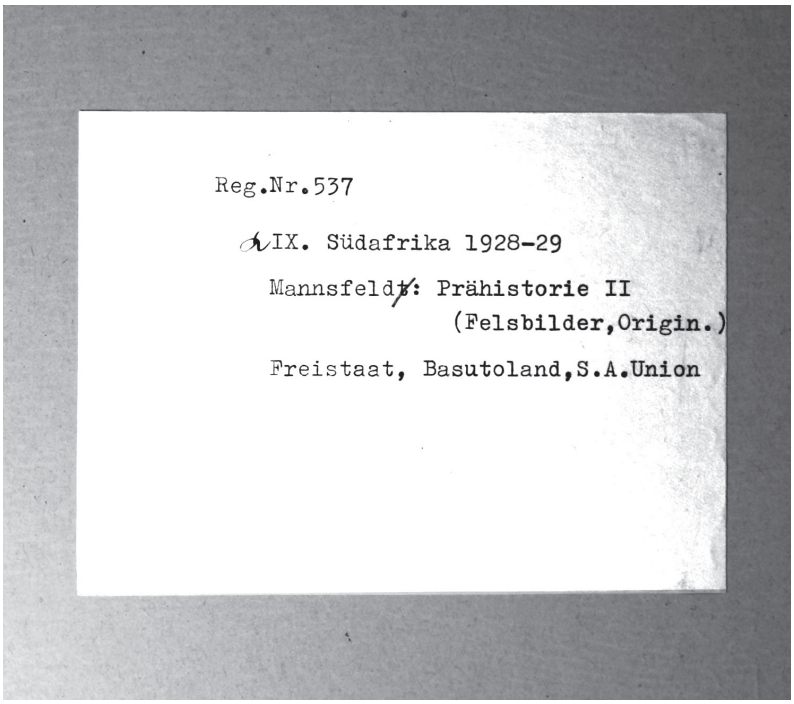
[...] die wichtigsten Darstellungen. Es waren einige interessante vorhanden und nach 1 Stunde mussten wir Heimweg antreten, da ich um 6 meine Gefährten an der anderen Höhle abholen musste. Pünktlich um 6 war ich dort, es wurde aber 7 Uhr bevor wir ausrücken konnten u. bei Dunkelheit gegen 8 ½ Uhr waren wir erst wieder im Hostel.

Montag 4.2.29 Abfahrt mit dem bus von National Park nachmittags bei strömendem Regen. Wir kamen auch nicht allzuweit u. blieben nach etwa 2 Stunden Fahrt im Strassengraben stecken.

[...] the most important paintings. There were some interesting ?bits and after 1 hour we had to set off for home, because I had to join up with my 6 companions at the other cave. – I got there at 6 o'clock sharp – but it was 7 o'clock before we could set out and we only got back to the Hostel at 8:30 in the darkness.

Monday 4.2.29 [4 February 1929] - Departure by bus from National Park in the afternoon in the pouring rain. We were not very far when we got stuck in a ditch after about two hours driving.

[This is the end of the section concerning Cinyati. The journal continues to trace their further travels in Natal and beyond.]



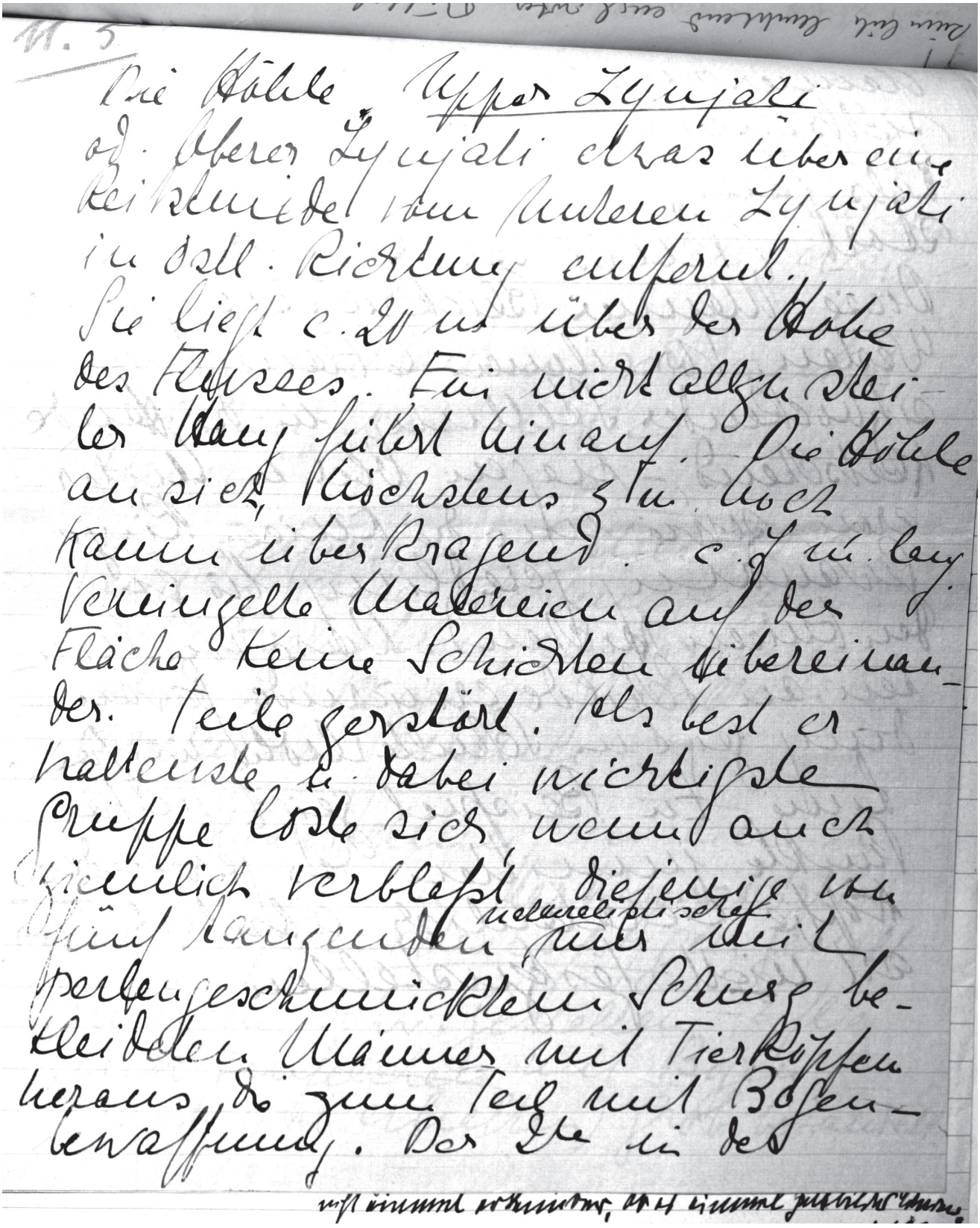
LF 476 (Alte Reg. Nr. 537)

α IX Südafrika 1928/30.

Mannsfeld: Prähistorie II (Felsbilder, Origin.)

Freistaat, Basutoland, S.A.Union.

DESCRIPTION: see Schulz 1929 (**Annex VI**).



Die Höhle Upper Lyujali
od. Oberer Lyujali etwas über ein
Kilometer vom Unteren Lyujali
in südl. Richtung entfernt.
Sie liegt c. 20 m über der Höhe
des Flusses. Ein nicht allzu stei-
ler Weg führt hinauf. Die Höhle
an sich, nicht sehr hoch
kaum überragend. c. 7 m. lang
Vereinzelte Malereien auf der
Fläche. Keine Schichten übereinan-
der. Teile gestört. Als best er-
haltenste u. dabei wichtigste
Gruppe bot sich wenn auch
ziemlich verblaßt die [illegible] menschliche
fünf tanzenden Figuren mit
perlengeschmückten Schurz be-
kleideten Männer mit Tierköpfen
heraus, die zum Teil mit Bogen
bewaffnet. Der Tanz in der

Weyersberg 1929c: 15

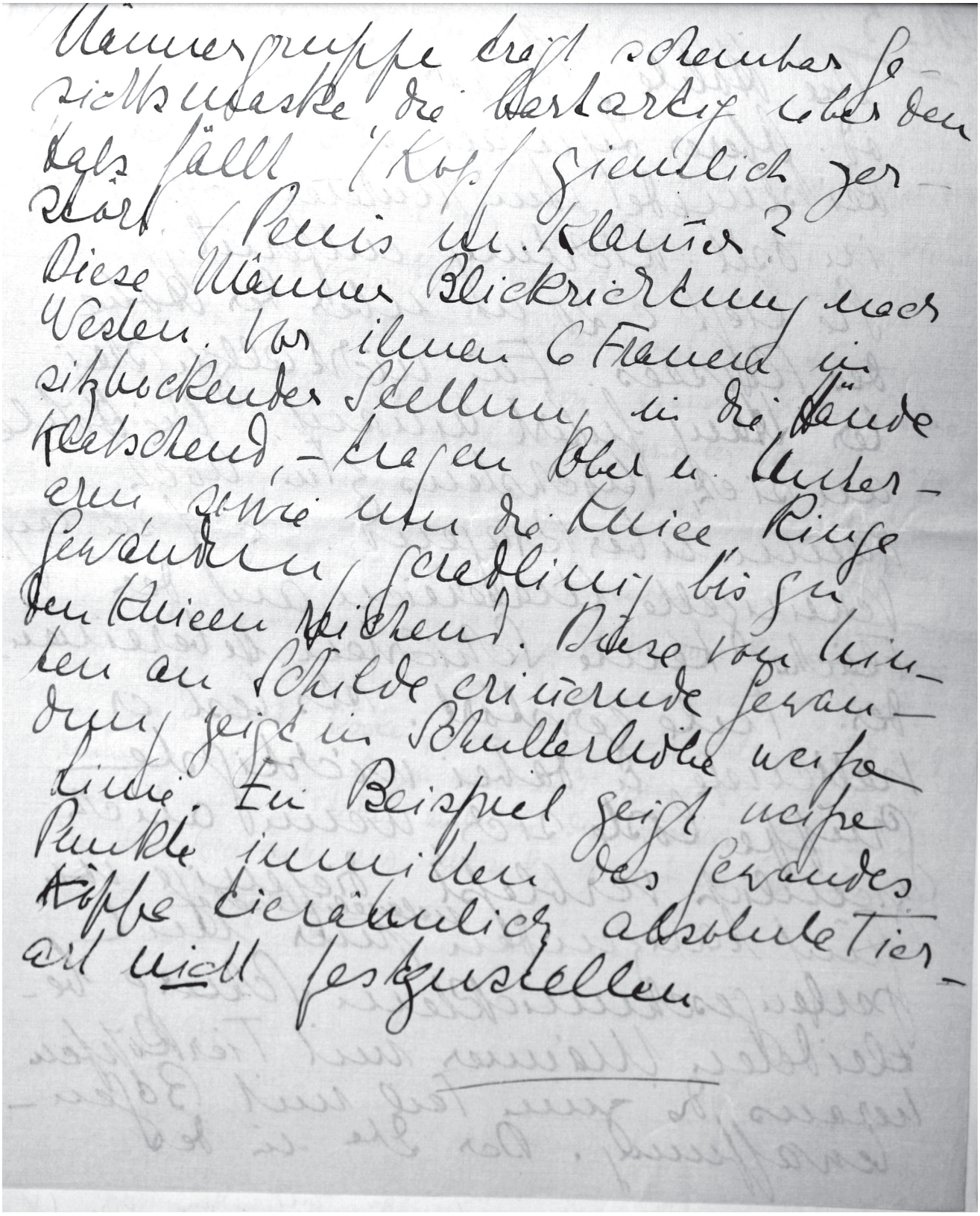
N.5. Die Höhle Upper Zynjati od.[-er] Oberer Zynjati etwas über eine Reitstunde vom Unteren Zynjati in dslb.[dieselbe] Richtung entfernt. Sie liegt *c.* 20 m. über der Höhe des Flusses. Ein nicht allzu steiler Hang führt hinauf. Die Höhle an sich höchstens 3 m. hoch. Kaum überkragend, *c.* 7 m. lang. Vereinzelte Malereien auf der Fläche. Keine Schichten übereinander. teile zerstört. Als best erhaltenste u.[-nd] dabei wichtigste Gruppe löste sich, wenn auch ziemlich verblasst, diejenige von fünf tanzenden naturalistischer ?nur mit perlengeschmücktem Schurz bekleideten Manner mit Tierköpfen heraus die zum teil mit Bogenbewaffnung. Der 2te in der [...]

N.5. The Upper Zynjati or 'Oberer Zynjati' cave slightly more than an hour's ride from Lower Zynjati in the same direction. It lies *c.* 20m above the level of the river. A gentle slope leads up to it. The cave is 3m at its highest. Hardly sheltered by the overhanging ledge, *c.* 7m long. Isolated paintings across the surface. No layered paintings, portions destroyed. As [the] best preserved and therefore most important group dissolved?, even though it is rather faded, the one with five naturalistic dancing men with animal heads wearing ?only loincloths adorned with beads and in part [adorned] with bow weaponry [will still check the syntax of this sentence!]. The second figure in the [...]

Weyersberg 1929c: 16

[...] Männergruppe tragt scheinbar gesichtsmaske die bartartig über den Hals fällt / Kopf ziemlich zerstört / Penis in Klam[m]er. Diese Männer Blickrichtung nach Westen. Vor ihren 6 Frauen in sitzhockender Stellung in die Hände Klatschend, tragen Ober u.[-nd] Unter-arm sowie um die Kniee Ringe. Gewandung geradlinig bis zu den Knieen reichend. Diese von hinten an Schilde erinnernde gewandung zeigt in Schulterhöhe weisse Linie. Ein Beispiel zeigt weisse Punkte inmitten des Gewandes. Köpfe tierähnlichen, absolute Tierart nicht festzustellen.

[...] group of men is seemingly wearing a face-mask that falls beard-like below the neck / Head rather damaged / Penis in a clip/clasp. These men [are] facing west. In front of them 6 women in a squatting position with hands clapping, wearing rings around [their] upper and lower arms as well as knees. Garments [hanging] straight down to their knees. Those at the back [of the group] with garments reminiscent of shields featuring white stripes at shoulder height. One example shows white dots in the centre of the garment. Heads animal-like, exact species not determinable.



Männergruppe drückt scheinbar Sicherheitsmaske die Verlegenheit über den Lachfall (Kopf) sinnlich der Kopf (Penis u. Klauen?
Diese Männer Blickrichtung nach Westen. Vor ihnen 6 Frauen in sitzbückender Stellung in die Hände klatschend, - knien Brust u. Unterarm sowie um die linke Hüfte verdickten Schleier bis zu den Knien wehend. Diese von linken an Schulde eindringende Verdrehung zeigt in Schulterlinie verspätete. Ein Beispiel zeigt rechte Brustseite innerhalb des Gewandes Köpfe sicherlich absolute Tier-ähnlichkeit nicht festzustellen

Männer in Mannigfalt bis
capit. markum penniell Koppe
rosalich. - Frauen cap. markum
Serandum praeputii u. vesp-
lich.
Größe der Männer schwankt
zwischen 20 cm. u. 8 cm.
Frauen 15 " - 6 " -

Im. Entfernung Gestalt 22 c. noch
eingl. rot Farbe, elliptische Form
Größe Eselsohren, starker Penis
davor 2 c. 19 cm. für Gestalten in
verschiedener Stellung.

Einzeldarstellung in einiger
Entfernung von der Kerzenstärke
20 cm. großen ideal typischen Gestalt.
Einzelne sehr. Gestalten 2 flie-
gende (Engelchen mit Bogen.
(nicht gut erhalten) grob behandelt.

[illegible] 30.1.29.

Weyersberg 1929c: 17

Männer in braunrot bis *caput mortum* gemalt, Köpfe rosalich. Frauen *cap.[-ut] mortum*, gewanden grau grün u.[-nd] weisslich.

Grosse der Männer schwankt zwischen 20 cm u.[-nd] 8 cm.

Frauen 15 “ u.[-nd] 6 “.

1m. Entfernung Gestalt 22 c[m]. hoch engl.[isch] rot Farbe, erhobene Arme, grosse Eselsohrevn, slanker Penis davor 2c[m] - 12cm gr. Gestalten in vorgebeugter Stellung.

Einzeldarstellung in einiger Entfernung von starkgestörter 20 cm. grossen steatopygen Gestalt.

Vereinzelte schw.[-arze] Gestalten, 2 fliegende Teufelchen mit Bogen (nicht gut erhalten) grob behandelt.

Men in brown-red to *caput mortum*,[1] head pinkish. Women [painted in] *caput mortum*, garments grey-green and whitish.

Size of the men ranges between 20cm and 8cm.

Women [between] 15cm and 6cm.

[At] A distance of 1m [a] 22cm high figure [in] English red[2] pigment, raised arms, large donkey ears, slender penis out front 2c[m] - 12cm high figures in a bent forward position.

At a certain distance, a 20cm tall badly damaged solitary figure of steatopygous shape.

Isolated black figures, 2 flying imps [impish-like figures] with bows (not well preserved) roughly handled [in the sense of depicted?].

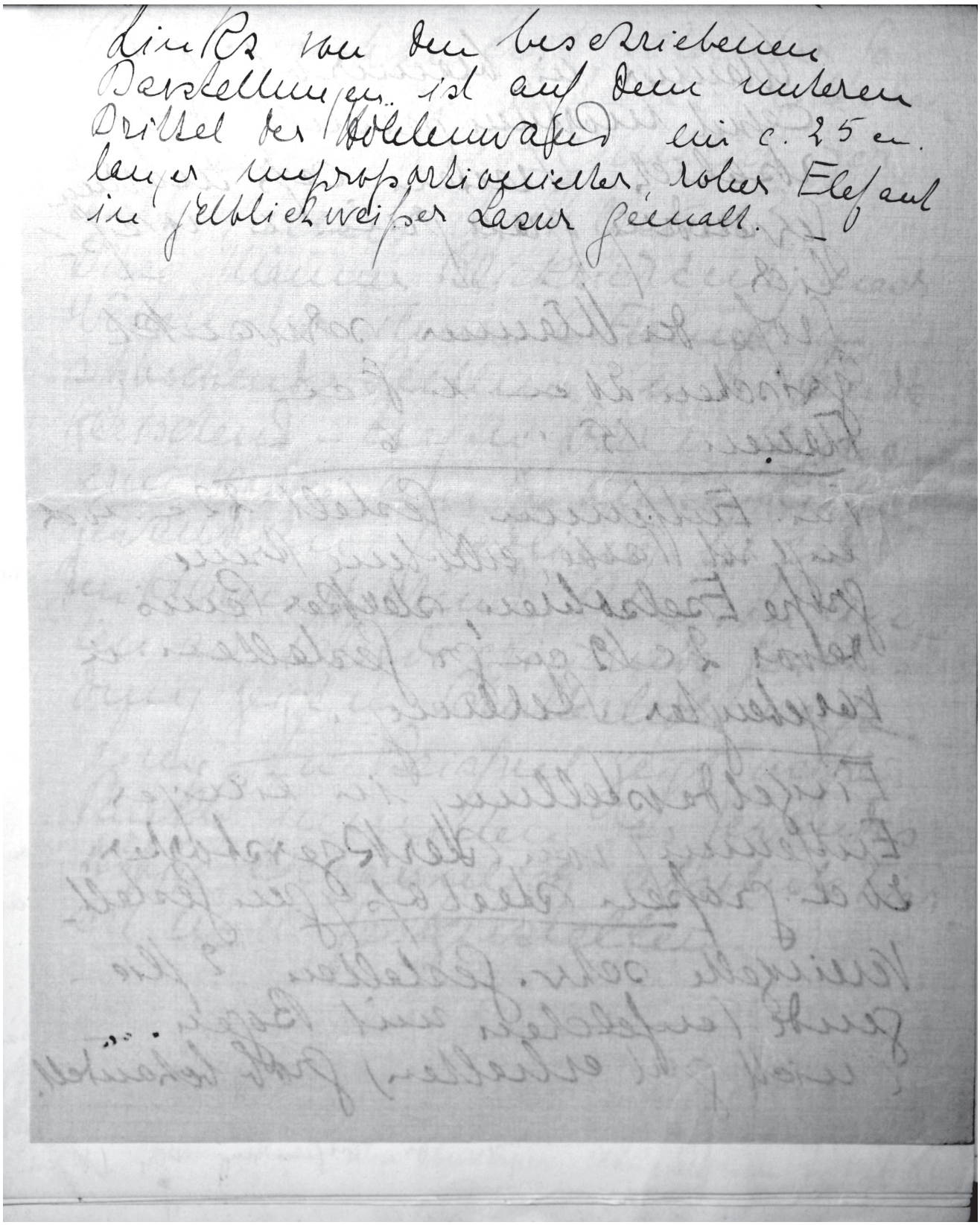
[1] A colour belonging to the Red Iron Oxide family (Weber 1923: 64); a deep purplish-red brown pigment.

[2] A colour belonging to the Vermilion family (Weber 1923: 117); a variety of bright red.

Weyersberg 1929c: 18

Links von den beschriebenen Darstellungen ist auf dem unteren Drittel der Höhlenwand ein *c.* 25 cm langer unproportionierter roher Elefant in gelblichweisser Lasur gemalt.

To the left of the described figures is, on the lower third of the cave wall, a rough disproportionate c. 25cm long elephant painted in yellowish-white glaze.


Links von den beschriebenen Darstellungen ist auf dem unteren Drittel der Bildfläche ein c. 25 cm. langer unproportionierter roter Elefant in feldlichweiser Lasur gemalt. –

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references

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